MORGENTHAU LOOKS AT GERMANY by HANS BERGER

NEW MASSES

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October 23, 1945

OLD ANTI-SEMITES IN NEW CLOTHES

Conspiracy in Detroit

BY DOROTHY ROBERTS

LABOR AND THE COMMUNITY

Lessons from the UE by LILLIAN STONE

WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE ROW C

by THE EDITORS

THE WRITER AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT—A discussion article by Isidor Schneider; **"DEEP ARE THE ROOTS"**—A review of Broadway's Play of the Year, by Matt Wayne.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

AN ANSWER to the arguments about differences between minorities might very well be demonstrated through an "incident." An incident may be pleasant or unpleasant—in this case, the one we mean happened so:

Recently Ben Davis, Jr., Negro Communist candidate for city council, who is up for reelection, spoke to an audience on the lower East Side. It was shortly after the Jewish holiday of Succoth. Succoth (literally translated "arbors covered with grass") celebrates bringing in the harvest. Shortly after Succoth, Davis appeared at the meeting mentioned above. He said, "I have talked to people everywhere, but this is the first time under a "Succoh" [which is the singular of "Succoth"].

That audience responded—one thousand. Many had never heard of Davis, but one active member of the Democratic Party volunteered to get everyone in her block out to check his name in the right place; a small storekeeper said he would guarantee fifty votes; and hundreds of others promised a personal house-to-house canvass for a man who has done everything he could possibly do, during the time he has been in office, for the population of the biggest city in the world.

Let the Christian Fronters and their like howl—those who will attempt to defeat with the yelps of "Jew," "anti-Christ," "Negro." Ben Davis, Jr. has answered them and behind him is a mighty chorus.

Registration is over, but voting day is ahead. Pick up that harvest, you New Yorkers, while the chance is there.

YOU should have been around at some of the sessions on NM and culture, which included a number of people not on the magazine's staff. Part of the results are described in Isidor Schneider's article on page 22. Between forty and fifty people jammed into a room which could comfortably accommodate twenty with the aid of a large shoe-horn, and discussed and argued for hours. What struck us was the fact that these people knew what they liked—and all cracks about that oldie aside, it's a good thing these days. More about this later.

WHICH reminds us to be vocal about something we like—NM's art department—cartoons, spots, and what have you's. Further, if we ever wore a hat, we would take it off at a drop, to the gal who for the last two years has been responsible, editorially and physicaly, for the layout of NM as you see it from week to week. Virginia Shull, the magazine's managing editor, has watched art editors disappear into unform and all over the globe—in addition to herding around a bunch of associate editors and contributors and gathering them in line for deadline time (if you think that's fun, drop around any day), wielding a blue pencil on rewrite jobs, and pounding a typewriter on her own articles, she thinks up gags, contacts artists, supervises make up, messes with the pastepot herself, and copes with the printer. This last job should be done by one with the muscles of Hercules, the hide of an alligator, and the diplomacy of Molotov. Miss Shull does not possess all these attributes, but for our money she does okay, and she should for yours, too.

BECAUSE NM's tribute to John Reed was too close to press day for coverage in this issue, you will hear about it next week. We have only this comment to make. In our time on the magazine there have been many meetings, but not one has been anything like this last in excitement, significance, warmth, and audience response. And rarely has it been such a glowing and real pleasure for us to write *after* the event. We wish we could do the kind of job Reed did when he reported meetings. Failing that, we will do our best to describe to you, in next week's column, what happened and why.

M. DE A.

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NEW MASSES
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LABOR AND THE COMMUNITY

By LILLIAN STONE

Item: *Banners are up across Main Street in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, backing a CIO union's campaign to keep a large electrical corporation from moving its plant there out of the state.*

Item: *The Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn., is on record unanimously in support of organized labor's program for jobs and peacetime prosperity.*

Item: *Battle-starred rows of veterans marched at the head of the great CIO demonstration that opened the battle against unemployment in Chicago.*

Item: *Farmers and their wives at a County Fair in Ohio clustered around a union-manned booth to sign petitions to Congress for full employment legislation.*

Item: *The small businessmen and most of the community of St. Joseph, Mich., are supporting workers on strike at the world's largest washing machine plant over a move to cut wages, raise prices.*

THESE items are part of what may be the most significant development in the postwar American labor movement, the community action program now being carried out by the more forward-looking unions of the CIO, especially the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. If this program is generally adopted, it may make the outcome of the present labor crisis essentially different from that after World War I.

After World War I the big industrialists succeeded in their campaign to smash or shackle labor unions partly because the labor movement was not powerfully organized along industrial lines as it is now, and partly because it was possible to isolate labor from the rest of the community. This time it is labor which may isolate the reactionary monopolists from the rest of the community in the course of its own fight for jobs and security.

The basis for the community action program is a simple economic fact—that the community cannot prosper unless its workers prosper. That the butcher, the baker, the landlord, the department store, the doctor and the dentist will go into the red if the bulk of their customers are unemployed, or if wages are so low there's no money to spend.

This means that labor's fight for full employment is a fight for the whole community. Labor's fight for higher wages to keep up purchasing power is a fight for the community's prosperity. And the campaign of the big employers to force down wages and destroy the labor movement by keeping the plants shut down for an indefinite period and creating a pool of unemployed—is a campaign against the whole community.

Labor's successful campaign to re-elect President Roosevelt in 1944, when the CIO Political Action Committee mobilized the people behind a program of unconditional defeat of fascism, continued cooperation of the United Nations and 60,000,000 jobs, laid the basis for the national alliance with little business, farmers, housewives, ministers, professionals and the armed forces. But PAC activity was not regarded as a continuing necessity in most of the labor movement; it languished after November 7.

The UE, however, which had pioneered in political action, saw community action as more than a temporary measure during an election campaign. Well before V-J Day UE local and district bodies were organizing conferences with local government, business, civic and other labor groups to plan for full employment in the community. In St. Louis, UE has been active from the beginning in the campaign for the Missouri Valley Authority. Last spring, when the first cutbacks laid off thousands in the Small Arms, US Cartridge and other munitions plants, it was the UE which led the united action that brought about the formation of a committee of Chamber of Commerce, business, labor and civic representatives to demand that Washington help to keep the plants in operation, arousing the whole community to the need for legislative action on reconversion, severance pay for laid-off workers, etc.

EVENTS of the past two months in communities where the UE is strongly organized show that the fight for the goals of peacetime can be achieved. In Eau Claire, Wis., Western Electric announced that it intended to abandon its large radar tube plant built with government aid and at the same time that it would set up an identical plant in Pennsylvania. The Wisconsin plant happened to be the first Western Electric plant in which UE won bargaining rights, and just before the layoffs began the union won an eight-cent hourly increase and more than $25,000 in back pay for the 800 workers.

In the old days the workers just had to take it when a plant moved away. This time, however, the union has the whole community aroused to save the plant. More than 600 workers chipped in a dime each to sign their names to a five-foot telegram to Western Electric Pres. C. G. Stoll demanding continued operation of the plant. In response to the union's appeal, Cong. Merlin Hull and Gov. Walter S. Goodland wired Stoll. Hull also approached the Navy and War Departments on possible products the plant could produce. Thousands of citizens from every part of the community turned out for the mass demonstrations held in the City Auditorium and in Market Square in nearby Chippewa Falls and sponsored by a committee of prominent businessmen, the mayors and city officials and civic leaders. Music was provided by the high school bands. Main speakers were UE Field Organizer Phil Smith and an official of the Farmers Union. Smith was met at the train by both mayors, the heads of the local Committee for Economic Development and prominent local businessmen—the same kind of group that used to meet a union organizer's train to run him out of town. Smith was even asked to speak at the Kiwanis Club. The union is getting

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magnificent front-page publicity and full editorial backing from every newspaper in the area.

In Bayonne, N. J., the Bayonne *Times* had been pooh-poohing local mass layoffs and running such front-page banner headlines as EMPLOYMENT VISTA BRIGHT IN CITY; ONLY 2,000 WORKERS DISCHARGED. A delegation of more than fifty laid-off workers went down to see publishers Herman and Sidney Lazarus, confronted them with evidence that in UE shops alone nearly 2,000 had been laid off, asked them to explain their false stories. The publishers hedged by saying they wanted to present both sides. Before the unionists left they had the publishers' promise of support for labor's job program and in the next few days front-page stories in the Bayonne *Times* began to tell the facts of the reconversion crisis and labor's fight for jobs with new headlines: LABOR PRESSES CITY JOB PROGRAM; COMMISSION BACKS LABOR FIGHT. The workers' delegation had won the unanimous support of the Bayonne City Commission for two resolutions introduced by the UE locals. The commission agreed to establish a city committee composed of representatives of labor, industry, city government and the public to plan for full employment. The City Commissioners also went on record in support of the workers' two-year struggle to get their union contract signed by the management of a dilatory radiator company.

UE locals were active in arranging the mass rallies called by the CIO in Chicago and New York, by both the CIO and AFL in Camden and Schenectady; the UE held demonstrations of its own in many cities. These rallies, preceded by a parade of workers from the plants through the city and drawing from 20,000 to 60,000 citizens, demanded action on the CIO legislative program in no uncertain terms. The Congressmen and state officials who came were impressed and those who stayed away were informed, and their absence noted.

THE mass delegations of CIO workers descending on Washington now are having repercussions in the capital. In terms of 1946 and 1948 the repercussions in the community may be even more important. When the Sylvania Co. shut down six of its plants in West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, throwing 5,500 workers into the streets, the UE immediately went on the air and called upon all community organizations and citizens in the tri-state area to join in its fight for speedy passage of the full employment and unemployment insurance bills. In Huntington, W. Va., more than 200 people turned out for delegations to visit Congressmen. In Point Pleasant members canvassed the city house to house with petitions to Congress. Some Congressmen promised support, some hedged, but delegations, petitions and promises didn't end the story. When Cong. D. Emmett Brumbaugh proved highly evasive to requests of laid-off Sylvania workers in Altoona, Pa., that he fight for full employment legislation, the UE took a large ad in the Altoona *Mirror* and presented its argument and its Congressman's reaction to the whole community. For those who didn't see the ad, a special radio program called "Meet Your Congressman" repeated the story.

When the end of the war found Sen. Albert W. Hawkes (D., N.J.), vacationing in the Canadian woods while his constituents faced mass unemployment, UE and other CIO locals threw a picket line around Hawkes' Montclair mansion. The Senator had sent word through his secretary to the unions that he "would see them in October," and that he "had not even read the Murray bill." The picket line got full publicity in local papers both for Hawkes' bad voting record (one of the worst in Congress) and for the reconversion legislation labor wanted. It was followed by a mass rally in industrial Bloomfield.

The towns of Tonawanda and N. Tonawanda, N. Y., had always been Republican strongholds until last fall when the UE and AFL locals formed a United Labor Legislative Committee and broke the domination of the GOP machine by electing a Democratic slate of mayors and councilmen, including three unionists. This fall, when layoffs began, the unions working with the mayors succeeded in getting a permanent committee set up representing the whole community—to plan for full employment in local plants and to evolve a building program. The City Council granted the committee funds to go to Washington and lobby for the Full Employment Bill.

In Ohio, to reach the farmers the CIO set up a booth at the Shelby County Fair, manned it with volunteers for five days, had thousands of farmers signing petitions to Congress. At the fair and on downtown street-corners of Piqua, Sidney, Troy and Greenville they handed out a leaflet—in some cases the first leaflet the community had seen that wasn't from America First—called "If you want prosperity, you have to help win it," with instructions for writing Congressmen to support the CIO program. A delegation of thirty-five drove to the Ohio state capital to lobby for a more liberal unemployment compensation bill, got a cold shoulder from their own state Senator, came back to publicize his action in the local press and to call for his replacement in the next election.

OUT on Long Island, N. Y., where the great aircraft plants built during the war laid off 40,000 workers during the first week of peace, businessmen, bankers, ministers, mayors, congressmen, clubwomen and workers from all unions answered UE's call to an Emergency Conference to save their cities from a ghost-town fate. The meeting was chaired jointly by Pres. R. E. Gillmor of the Sperry Gyroscope Co., the chairman of the county association of village mayors, and the local UE business agent. The audience wasn't in the mood for the vague talk of the businessmen nor the "profound faith" of Gillmor in the American people's resourcefulness. Worker after worker got up to say he couldn't afford "a free vacation," that if private industry wasn't going to operate its plants, then the government must, or at least pass the legislation that would get business going again. And then the 300 leaders from all walks of life listened soberly to UE's program to save the plants, provide jobs and maintain purchasing power.

In Ft. Wayne, Ind., 1,800 UE workers of the Magnavox Company were forced into the street when the company reneged on an agreement to increase wages. It was part of a concerted Sewell Avery campaign of Indiana metal-working manufacturers against a War Labor Board order to increase wages. The union took a full-page ad in Ft. Wayne's two daily newspapers to tell the community why the picket lines were operating twenty-four hours a day at the Magnavox plant.

"To the workers . . . the issue is purely and simply an end to wages as low as sixty-nine cents an hour.

"To the people of Ft. Wayne the issue is purely and simply whether or not we will have a secure community, with jobs at fair wages and prosperous business times.

"But to the corporate officialdom of the Magnavox Company, the issue is purely and simply to make extra profits at the expense of the people of our community."

In Indianapolis, 315 small merchants

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"And how soon can we expect the first shipment of scrap iron?"

signed an open letter in the press asking the P. R. Mallory Company, in the interests of the city's prosperity, to stop its fight against the wage increase granted by the WLB to the workers, their customers.

When Westinghouse, General Electric, Bendix and the other monopolies handed out their V-J ultimatum that reconversion would be used to destroy the union, the workers organized demonstrations to let the community know what was happening. In Bridgeport, Conn., GE workers picketed the city hall and downtown business sections in a two-day demonstration against mass layoffs and breach of the union contract at a time when the company was boasting of a flood of peacetime orders that would take years to fill. Veterans led the picket line. The march of hundreds of laid-off Bendix workers to the Philadelphia City Hall not only convinced the mayor that he should wire the corporation president protesting the summary dismissal of 5,200 workers and urging the reopening of the plant; their sit-down strike in the WLB office not only forced a promise from management to recognize seniority in the layoffs—it dramatized the issues of reconversion and unemployment for the whole city.

When it becomes necessary for workers to strike to win their demands, the importance of community action can be seen most sharply. The whole town of St. Joseph, Mich. is supporting a strike of the UE at the Nineteen Hundred Corporation, largest washing machine plant in the world, in a dispute over downgrading, wage-cutting and company efforts to increase prices. Unsolicited contributions of money, meat and ration points have been pouring into strike headquarters in quantities. This flood of public support in an area which several years ago returned Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R.) by the biggest majority of his twelve-year fascist career is the result, union leaders say, of the community action program which began months ago. Earlier in the year the union took a leading part in the local cancer drive, solicited in the plants, followed up a large donation by sponsoring a public meeting in union headquarters with a cancer radiologist as speaker and cancer movies. Union members began making a regular practice of writing letters to the local press on local and national questions, got the Eagles to pass a resolution on a guaranteed annual wage. For the first time many people became aware that a union fights for a community in other matters besides wages. When, just before the strike began, the NAM and the local head of the washing machine association came out on page one of the paper for a fifteen percent increase in washer prices, the union immediately pointed out that the move to swell company profits would cut purchasing power, and public reaction was on their side. The people could see that the company's move to downgrade and slash wages would affect all business in the area.

Only much more community action of this character can decide the issue of jobs and wage increases and defeat the reactionary forces which are bent on getting their way even if they have to wreck the national economy to do it. The UE has demonstrated what forces can be mobilized; unfortunately the AFL and much of the CIO still do not realize the importance of mustering all their potential allies in the drive to maintain purchasing power. The best work in the world by the UE or any other section of organized labor cannot alone create sufficient pressure to move this Congress and the dilatory Executive to the necessary action. Organized labor must learn how it can work and work fast.

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OLD ANTI-SEMITES IN NEW CLOTHES

By DOROTHY ROBERTS

This is the second of a series of articles on the plottings of America's fifth-column groups. The first, on the Ku Klux Klan, was by Harold Preece and appeared in last week's issue. This and subsequent articles are by Miss Roberts, who is a midwest newspaper woman.

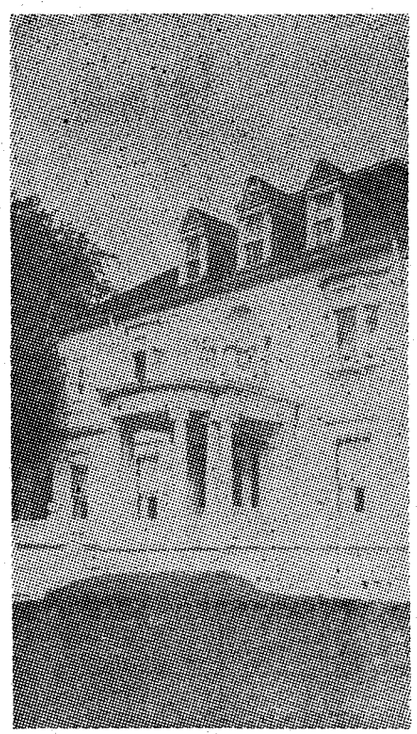
Detroit.

HOMER MAERTZ and Ernest F. Elmhurst, who were arrested on October 6 at a Christian Front meeting in Queens, New York, may not remember me. But surely they will remember the occasion when we met: the fascist convention in Detroit several weeks ago where the blueprints were drawn up for civil war in America.

Elmhurst and another of the leading figures at that convention, Col. E. N. Sanctuary, are under indictment for sedition, charged with being part of the Nazi conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States and establish a fascist dictatorship. A third of the convention's fuehrers, Hudson de Priest, was originally included in the sedition indictments, but the case against him was later dropped. In town, but not present at any of the sessions, was another of the sedition trial defendants, Rev. Gerald Winrod of Wichita, Kan., one of the most active distributors of Nazi and anti-Semitic literature in the country. As for Homer Maertz, one-time German-American Bund leader, he boasted to me: "I did everything everybody else did, but the FBI could neither bend nor break me."

The three-day convention was camouflaged as the Congress of Monetary Organizations. It was held at what is called the "Women's White House," 8127 E. Jefferson St. The issue of monetary reform has for years strongly appealed to debt-ridden farmers and middle-class people. It has been one of the battle-cries of progressive movements such as the Farmers Alliance and the Populists of the eighties and nineties, and has also been used as bait by fascist demagogues like Charles E. Coughlin. Gerald L. K. Smith has recently taken up this issue as a postwar nostrum. And it was in Detroit, where the social tensions of the postwar period run higher than in any city of comparable size, that alleged monetary reform served as the catch-all for rallying fifth column groups and individuals in an effort to coordinate the activities of America's fascist front.

Sitting around as window dressing for the convention were characters like ninety-year-old "General" Jacob S. Coxey, who led Coxey's Army of the unemployed back in 1894; a Missouri farmer, H. H. Schenk, who talked endlessly about his inventions, and confused folk of the Billy Bryan-Coin Harvey vintage who believe that all of the nation's problems can be solved in Congress' issuing bales of greenbacks. Guarding the sessions against the press was a character of a different type: handsome, mustached Charles F. Dexter, who proudly told me that he had been exposed by the Communist Party as a stoolpigeon and who, when showing me his Ford employe's badge with his identification photo whispered: "You'll hear from us. I've been in conference with Homer and the other boys and we're planning something big."



The "Women's White House," scene of the Congress of Monetary Organizations convention.

Dexter was at one time acting secretary of a Nazi front organization, the National Workers League, of which Parker Sage, another of the sedition trial defendants, was head. Earlier Dexter had been a "captain" in the Black Legion and had turned state's evidence at the Black Legion trials in Detroit in 1936.

Sticking around the convention just in case, was a big-muscled storm trooper named Walsh who first appeared swinging his ham-like fists and shouting, "I fought the Commies from the time that they got started and, by God, I'm still fightin' 'em."

DELEGATES had already begun to arrive from as far east as Buffalo and as far west as Iowa when I appeared on the day before the convention with one of the leaflets, advertising the meeting, as my credential. As I stepped into the "Women's White House," now Detroit's main fascist headquarters where various fifth-column groups meet almost nightly, a short, dumpy gray-haired woman lavishly dressed and wearing gold glasses came forward and introduced herself as Mrs. Blanche Winters.

I recognized the name as that of a lady who has been closely connected with various phony women's and "mothers'" organizations which did everything possible to obstruct the course of the war. For several months, Mrs. Winters has been occupying this two-story white building in one of Detroit's

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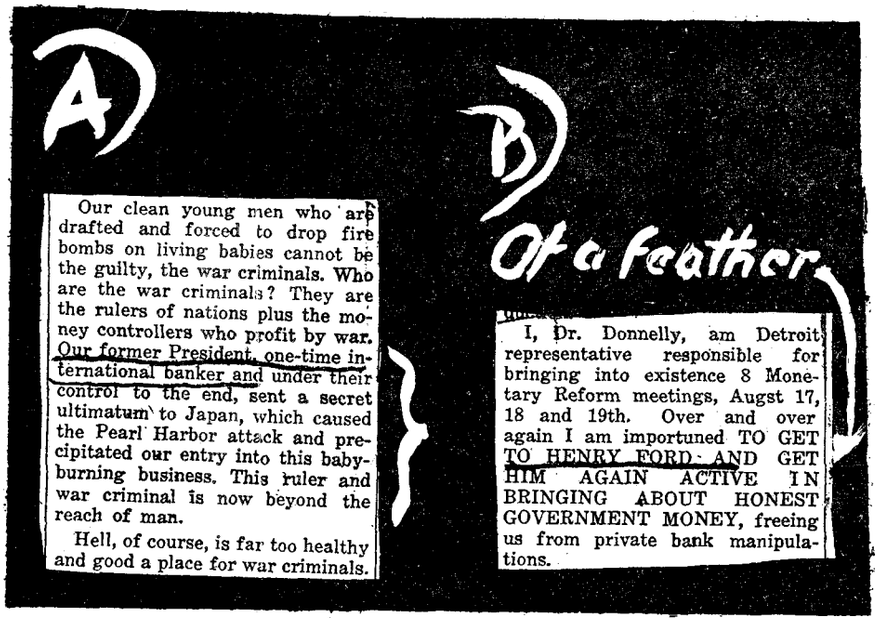

A)
Our clean young men who are drafted and forced to drop fire bombs on living babies cannot be the guilty, the war criminals. Who are the war criminals? They are the rulers of nations plus the money controllers who profit by war. Our former President, one-time international banker and under their control to the end, sent a secret ultimatum to Japan, which caused the Pearl Harbor attack and precipitated our entry into this baby-burning business. This ruler and war criminal is now beyond the reach of man.
Hell, of course, is far too healthy and good a place for war criminals.
B)
Of a feather
I, Dr. Donnelly, am Detroit representative responsible for bringing into existence 8 Monetary Reform meetings, Augst 17, 18 and 19th. Over and over again I am importuned TO GET TO HENRY FORD AND GET HIM AGAIN ACTIVE IN BRINGING ABOUT HONEST GOVERNMENT MONEY, freeing us from private bank manipulations.

Two clippings from "Money," a New York publication which runs a nugget of wisdom from Henry Ford under its masthead echo some familiar sentiments from the days when Henry Ford accepted Hitler's honors.

best residential sections, and it is known that every prominent fifth-columnist in the country visits here for a friendly session when he stops in the automobile city. Several white-jacketed servants hanging around the place testified to the undeniable fact that Mrs. Winters has plenty of money to spend.

"You are welcome, my dear," Mrs. Winters cooed. "The convention won't start officially until tomorrow, but there will be a preliminary session to warm things up tonight. Now if you'll excuse me, I'll have to see that the servants get things in order." With a deep sigh, "You know how these colored people are. You might help yourself to some of the literature on the table over there."

I wandered over to the literature table. I picked up pamphlets and newspapers of the various monetary groups now being summoned to unite their forces against "the bankers" by an organization calling itself the Eastern Monetary Federation. I recalled that Yorkville head-buster Joe McWilliams, also under indictment for sedition and now working as the chief solicitor for ex-US Senator Robert Rice Reynolds' American Nationalist Party, had given lectures for another such outfit, the Midwest Monetary Federation of Chicago, when his cash ran low after Pearl Harbor.

Most of the literature was innocuous enough—the kind with which money messiahs plague you if you're ever foolhardy enough to give them your name and address. Pamphlets based on the teachings of currency crank Silvero Gissell, put out by "the Natural Economic Order of Canada," were stacked side by side with copies of a sheet called *Money Freedom* issued by the Private Enterprise Movement at 226 East 26th St., New York. But the publication, *The Federated World*, issued by Jesse T. Kennedy, of 655 S. Wells Street, Chicago, declared rather paradoxically for a magazine with such a name:

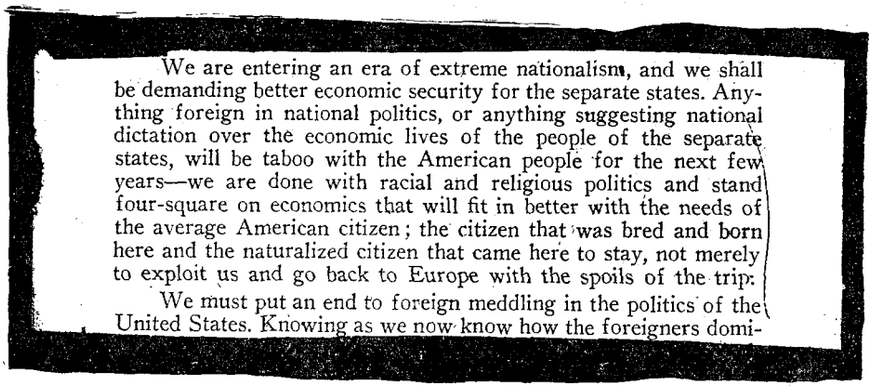
"We are entering an era of extreme nationalism, and shall be demanding better economic security for the separate states. Anything foreign in national politics, or anything suggesting national dictation over the economic lives of the people of the separate states will be taboo with the American people for the next few years—We must put an end to foreign meddling in the politics of the United States. Knowing as we now know how the foreigners dominate the two old political parties and through them the political, social, and economic lives of our people, we realize that the way out of this difficulty is to organize a new political party that is controlled from the bottom up instead of the top down, as both old parties are now controlled. We know that Rural America has been bled dry by the foreigners who control the two old political parties; and we know that Rural Americans are preparing for a New Deal minus the Raw Deals that have been handed out to them. . . ."

I glanced through another sheet called *Money* published by John G. Scott of 1165 Broadway, New York. The masthead of the paper contained a quotation from Henry Ford. "The Function of Money Is Not To Make Money But To Move Goods." Opposite this quote, in smaller type I read the words: "For The Buy All, BIAL, By All Principles, and a Christian America." Under the heading, "Ban Removed," a news item informed the reader that the paper was once more being allowed to be circulated in Canada after having been, in the quoted words of a Member of Parliament, "prohibited on the recommendation of the censorship authorities because it was spreading German propaganda."

Another article, signed by H. H. Heath, and reproduced from the Hot Springs, New Mexico, *Herald*, said:

"A small well organized American Nationalist Party that will put a ticket in the field composed of money reform men who are strictly nationalistic and not afraid to make it known in unequivocal language will garner millions of votes from both old parties and elect a lot of men, possibly enough to save our system from the traitorous internationalists."

A front page unsigned article entitled "Babies on Fire" asked: "Who are the


We are entering an era of extreme nationalism, and we shall be demanding better economic security for the separate states. Anything foreign in national politics, or anything suggesting national dictation over the economic lives of the people of the separate states, will be taboo with the American people for the next few years—we are done with racial and religious politics and stand four-square on economics that will fit in better with the needs of the average American citizen; the citizen that was bred and born here and the naturalized citizen that came here to stay, not merely to exploit us and go back to Europe with the spoils of the trip.

We must put an end to foreign meddling in the politics of the United States. Knowing as we now know how the foreigners domi-

This passage from "The Federated World," a Chicago publication (see text above) outlining its program for "The Farmer Labor Party" (no relation of existing organizations) explains what's really behind the fancy money talk.

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On the Harnessing of Atomic Energy

Rise from the altar, stand untied!
drink deep, besot yourselves with power,
and cry, cry out the chant of pride!
Here is your high triumphant hour.

Here is your time for planet-gazing
See! the hand of a giant soars
and shuts a fist upon the blazing
sun. Do you know the hand? It's yours!

Forger of steel, bender of steel,
father and finisher of nations,
it's yours, the giant hand, to deal
no more in puny occupation.

What shall they reach for next, the fingers?
Our planet's fragile now, take care!
Perhaps they'll harvest the sky, and fling us
a crown of radiant stars to wear,

a crown of stars for every king,
as well as brilliant moonbeam sceptres,
and thunder-courts for sentencing
the clouds that long in darkness kept us . . .

Unfist the sun! I hear a flower
weeping in thirst. Oh let your pride
listen! let not your highest hour
be called the time when blossoms died!

AARON KRAMER

war criminals? They are the rulers of nations plus the money controllers who profit by war. Our former President, one-time international banker and under their control to the end, sent a secret ultimatum to Japan, which caused the Pearl Harbor attack and precipitated our entry into this baby-burning business. This ruler and war criminal is now beyond the reach of man."

But the prize article in the sheet was the one addressed "To Henry Ford II," who recently succeeded his grandfather, Henry Ford, as head of the Ford Motor Co. The article was signed by Leo Charles Donnelly, M. D., who formerly served as an official of Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice. Donnelly ran for President as the candidate of the splinter Greenback Party in 1944 and claims the credit for arranging the Detroit "monetary convention." Donnelly wrote that:

"Monetary reformers throughout US and Canada accept Henry Ford's views on national finance. HENRY FORD IS CONSIDERED AMONG MONETARY REFORMERS AS BASICALLY CORRECT IN MONEY as the world accepts him as basically correct in mass production. Ford Motor Car Company speedmeters [sic], metals, gauges, are honest; are stabilized; are dependable. MONETARY STUDENTS ASK THE SAME THING IN GOVERNMENT MONEY: and we teach that government money can be just as honest, just as accurate, just as dependable as FORD CARS."

That was a tall dose. So was Dr. Donnelly when I strolled into the parlor and began shaking hands with everybody in sight. Donnelly, to whom I introduced myself, is a thin, spare, middle-aged man with a dreamy, ascetic face. Until recently, he took time out from his medical practice to serve as pastor of Westminster Community Church in Detroit's big suburb of Highland Park. I understand that he has been trying for months to promote a "get-together conference" between Gerald L. K. Smith, Coughlin, Ku Klux Preacher J. Frank Norris on the one hand, and that militant anti-fascist evangelist, Rev. Claude Williams of the Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion on the other.

Despite these curious "united front" activities, Donnelly has been an unfailing toiler in the American fascist vineyard for many years. He disavows anti-Semitism in his literature and looked shocked when I said that "I had come to find out how to get myself out from under the control of the Jews." But the ball I pitched at random was immediately caught by a squat, heavy, pot-bellied individual who squeezed my hand in a bone-breaking grip.

"You've come to the right place, little lady," he said as I began feeling slightly sick from the odor emanating from his open-collared, dirty white shirt. "I'm Charles G. Smith, of Elmhurst, New York, Queens County organizer of the American Nationalist Party. Sit down. I'd like to talk to you."

I PERCHED on one end of a sofa, and Smith sprawled over the other end. "This is the beginning of a crusade against the international bankers," he told me. "We'll tell the people who the bankers are and show that they are all kikes who got us into this war to make the world safe for the kikes."

"Maybe, we need something like the American Nationalist Party to help us clean out the international bankers," I ventured.

"Smart girl," he answered. "The ANP already has 20,000 members in Queens County, and more are coming in every day. We need more organizers to help us get started. I can put you in touch with Senator Reynolds' friends. His friends are very liberal in backing our party. Very liberal."

"Is Henry Ford a friend?" I asked innocently.

Smith's face became solemn and mysterious. "You'll know when the time comes," he said tersely. "Now on the Jew question," picking up a bulging brief case and opening it. "Read these books and they'll help you get wise." He handed me two pamphlets by Joseph P. Kamp, head of the Constitutional Educational League, and contributor to the now suspended Klan organ, *The Fiery Cross*. The pamphlets, which have been distributed widely throughout the country, were: *Vote CIO and Get A*

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Soviet America and *With Lotions of Love*. The first is a diatribe against Sidney Hillman and the CIO Political Action Committee; the second is an attack upon newspaper columnist Walter Winchell with emphasis upon Winchell's Jewish ancestry. Both pamphlets, naturally, blame the Jews and the Communists for all the ills of man.

Smith began telling me of his boyhood in Latvia and of his "persecution by the bloody Bolsheviks." Then a big man dressed in a green sports suit entered side by side with a smaller man whose somber dark clothes accentuated his grim Puritan features. Smith did the honors. The big fellow was John Scott, publisher of *Money*, who grinned broadly when he saw the copy of his paper in my hand. The smaller man was Col. E. N. Sanctuary, retired Army officer, author of the *Talmud Unmasked* and other such anti-Semitic classics, co-author with Winfield Jones of Atlanta, of the quasi-official history of the Ku Klux Klan, personal friend of US Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and more recently one of the American Nazi big fry who figured in the sedition trial.

"Another God-fearing lady learning the truth," Col. Sanctuary said piously. "I revere womankind, and I want you to hear a song that I've written entitled 'My Mother.' "

Thereupon, the Colonel sat down at a piano in a corner of the parlor and began singing his song in a shrill, high-pitched voice. A cynical smile played over Scott's face as the Colonel rendered his opus. Blubbering tears ran down the face of Smith. "You wouldn't think that the Colonel was past seventy," he whispered to me. "Such a talent to have been locked up in a Jew dungeon for months. Such a Christian man, too. He's been a Sunday school teacher for years, and runs a mission in New York."

The Colonel finished, wheeled around on the piano stool, and bowed to a round of applause. "I've written over 500 songs," he said. "When I leave here, I'm going to see a man in Ohio about publishing them in a hymnal to be called 'Sanctuary's Songs for the Sanctuary.' "

Thereafter, the Colonel would stroll over to the piano and sing his songs on the slightest provocation. He received much encouragement from a pale little fellow in a greasy summer suit. This man introduced himself as Rev. Sam Hardin, head of a Tennessee religious sect known as the "Church of Christ's Coming" which is "announcing Armageddon" when "the Jew money power will be slain before the Army of the Lord led by patriots like these brothers here." Sanctuary would sing; Hardin would bolster him up with fervent "amens" between stanzas. When Sanctuary was not singing, he was attacking the Talmud to small groups of two or three. "It's a complete blueprint for the destruction of Christian civilization, but Christian America is drawing up another blueprint to save civilization," he told me.

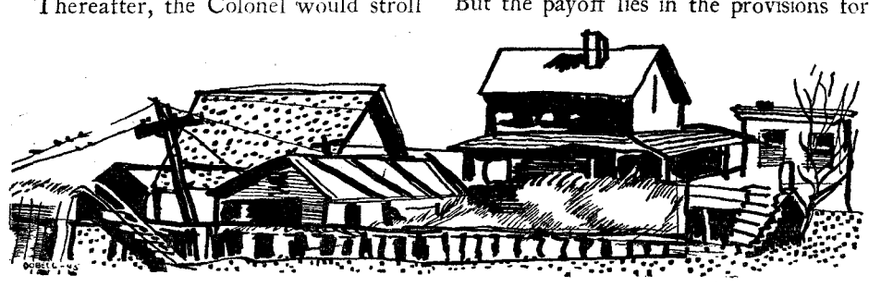
Before the preliminary session, held that night, Scott, Smith, and Donnelly came to an agreement that all "religious and racial matters" would be left out of the business sessions. "This is so the public won't get a bad impression," Smith explained to me. When the preliminary session opened, with Dexter presiding, Scott read the draft of a proposed constitution which represents a carefully laid plan of penetration into basic mass organizations of the American people. "We decided to call our organization the Congress of Monetary Organizations so that it would become popularly known as the CMO," he explained to the delegates. "Everybody knows what CIO means and that will help them to remember CMO."

THE draft constitution is a masterpiece of demagogy, calling for coinage of money based upon the total national production rather than upon the supply of gold. If America's productive capacity were $200,000,000,000 worth of goods, Congress would be empowered to issue that much in currency to move the merchandise. The constitution talks piously of "full employment" which, it promises, would result from this arrangement, and of unlimited social security. Phrases about racial and religious tolerance are thrown in as "cover-ups." But the payoff lies in the provisions for mass affiliation of trade unions, fraternal orders, old age pensions groups, and other organizations.

In the accustomed tradition of fascism, the American fifth columnists will pose as the friends of the harassed people and will offer some kind of quack remedy for every social ill. The "nationalists" hope to use the question of money reform as a springboard for the building of a mass fascist party in post-war America.

At this session, Scott who was later to be elected general secretary of the new fascist catch-all group, advocated a plank denying support to any political party which refused to pledge money reform or which had violated commitments on that question in the past. "This means both the Democratic and Republican parties," he said to the delegates. "So far as I am concerned, there is only one democratic party in this country. That is Senator Reynolds' American Nationalist Party which is organized into units of ten members each, with each unit electing its own leader."

Next week Miss Roberts will continue her inside story of the fifth-column convention and will reveal the strategy of Elmhurst and Maertz for fomenting dissension in the trade unions and working among doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers and other professional people with the gospel of hate-the-Jew and anti-Communism.



Dobell

●

Tea Party

1773-1945

Say, Mrs. Truman,
if you want to drink some tea,
there's better ways to drink it
than in Jim Crow company.

Can you be forgetting
another party held
in Boston's harbor
where Tory tea was spilled?

Fish in Boston waters
still can taste the tea
that fathers of the D.A.R.
poured upon the sea.

Fathers of the D.A.R.
did not taste that tea;
there's better ways to drink it
than in Jim Crow company.

Bill Castle.

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VOTE ROW C ALP

By THE EDITORS

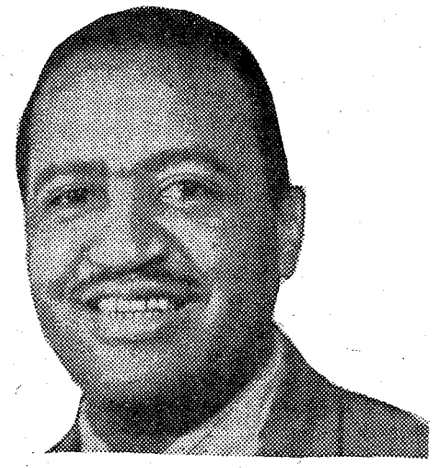
THE letter of Dr. S. J. on page 16 expresses a point of view which we have encountered among a number of workers and middle-class progressives. There is no use blinking the fact that the recent Red-baiting speech of Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor candidate for mayor of New York, has caused some to question the advisability of voting for him in next month's election. General O'Dwyer and his associates will be making a serious mistake if they assume that these questioners are limited to Communists and their close sympathizers.

This is an election in which both voters and candidates must think clearly and try to see the whole picture—the totality of issues involved. NEW MASSES wants to tell its readers why, though we share the resentment expressed by Dr. S. J., we nevertheless think it essential that the largest possible vote be rolled up for the entire city-wide ticket of the American Labor Party, including its choice for mayor.

In the New York election there is no "ideal" candidate for mayor. There is none, for example, who stands for socialism as the ultimate solution of the problems of city, state and nation. There is none who even, like Richard Frankensteen in Detroit, springs from the ranks of labor. All three aspirants for the job of chief executive of America's largest city represent capitalist parties and groups. At the same time there are among them real differnces in outlook and, above all, real differences in the forces with which they are aligned. For it is not only O'Dwyer, Goldstein and Morris who will be voted on, but the social and political relationships that each represents. And that is decisive.

The question that every enlightened voter must answer is: which course of action will advance the interests of the progressive forces, with the labor movement as their fulcrum—that is, the majority of the people—and weaken the reactionaries?

IN THE 1944 election there emerged in New York a broad labor-progressive coalition whose fighting core was the American Labor Party, the CIO unions functioning through the Political Action Committee, and the Communists. It was this coalition, which included the Democratic Party, that gave President Roosevelt his triumphant majority in the city and state. With FDR's death, reactionaries within the Democratic Party redoubled their efforts to duplicate in the city what they had achieved in the 1942 state balloting: the disruption of the coalition and the election of a mayor in the Dewey image. Under the joint sponsorship of Dewey and the boss of the Democratic Party in the Bronx, Edward J. Flynn, the original plan was for the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and the Russia-hating Liberal Party to get together on an "independent" candidate, the Tammany Democrat, Judge Jonah Goldstein, with the ALP and the CIO unions frozen out. But this plan failed when Boss Flynn and his allies in the Democratic organization were unable to deliver the Democratic Party of the other boroughs. Flynn and other Democratic bosses then sought to throw the election by putting up a weak slate against Goldstein. Once again popular pressure within Democratic ranks proved too much for them and they were forced to accept a Roosevelt man, General O'Dwyer, who, to his credit, had joined forces with the American Labor Party and the trade unions in an effort to maintain the labor-progressive coalition which



For Councilman: Ben Davis, Jr. As we go to press we learn that Joe Louis, recently discharged from the Army, has accepted the chairmanship of a veterans' committee for the reelection of Ben.

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played so large a part in electing the late President.

It should be noted that there was every reason to support O'Dwyer on the basis of his recent record. Appointed by President Roosevelt to a leading post in the Allied Control Commission, he had, in contrast to other American officials, supported the democratic forces in Italy and won their praise. And he had also done excellent work as executive director of the War Refugee Board.

Mayor La Guardia, who at first indicated he would support O'Dwyer, for personal reasons decided to sponsor a third candidate, the Republican, Newbold Morris, president of the City Council. Around Morris' candidacy have gathered anti-Dewey Republicans, wealthy independents and a small band of liberals without ties with the labor movement. And Morris himself, by announcing that he would concentrate on attacking O'Dwyer, has assumed the role of stalking horse for reaction.

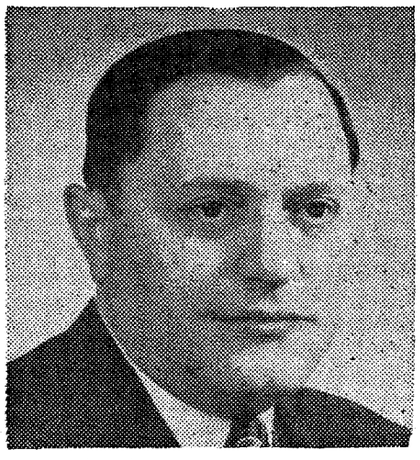
Under the prodding of his Republican and Social-Democratic sponsors, Goldstein has emulated Dewey in seeking to divide and conquer by making Communism an issue in the campaign. His chances of electoral success would probably be no better than Dewey's were last year were it not for the fact that reaction within the Democratic Party, urging the same tactic on O'Dwyer, persuaded him to inject Red-baiting into his first major campaign speech. This then precipitated some confusion and doubt which threatened to cut down O'Dwyer's vote on election day.

While there should be the firmest insistence that what O'Dwyer himself called the "now faded red herring of Communism" be kept out of the campaign, we feel that progressives should beware of allowing their justified indignation to cause any relaxing of activity for the ALP citywide ticket. To do so would be to walk into the reactionary trap by weakening the coalition progressives themselves have worked so hard to build. In fact, it is only by the most intensive campaigning for the ALP ticket and not by abandoning the fight that the reactionary pressures on O'Dwyer can be countered. That he is allied with progressive influences is indicated by his support of such measures as the full employment bill and the twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks bill, his denunciation of Bilbo, his emphasis on Negro and Jewish rights.

THE fact is that we cannot deprive O'Dwyer of a vote on the American Labor Party line without depriving the Labor Party of a vote. And we cannot deprive the ALP of a vote without weakening labor and progressive influence not only in New York's city hall, but in Washington and throughout the nation. As Bella V. Dodd wrote in an article on the New York political struggle in NEW MASSES of September 11:

"The election will also help determine whether the CIO Political Action Committee on a nationwide basis is a mere 'flash in the pan,' or will become the core of a united national movement that will express the political aspirations of the millions of American workers and their allies, the rural and urban middle classes and the Negro people. The election will likewise determine whether a clique of Social Democrats, led by David Dubinsky and Alex Rose through their political instrument, the Liberal Party, will in combination with the reactionary Dewey-Hoover wing of the Republican Party succeed in dividing labor and the progressives, and lead them into the quagmire of Russia-hating and Red-baiting."

In every capitalist country workingclass parties have in this period of struggle against fascism and its heirs found it necessary to unite with capitalist groups that are not always free of the fascist virus of anti-Communism. In the recent local elections in France the Communists joined forces with the Radical Socialists, one of whose leaders is Daladier, co-architect of Munich. In the British elections the Communists, except in a few districts, supported the candidates of the Labor Party whose top leadership is anti-Communist. In China the Communists have been negotiating for unity with the anti-Communist, Chiang Kai-shek. The road to democracy and freedom is not without detours. The



For Councilman: Peter V. Cacchione

For Councilman: Mike Quill

For Mayor: Brig. Gen. O'Dwyer

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working class must find allies even though they are temporary and unstable. In each instance the larger interests of the labor and progressive movement should determine the tactics to be pursued.

This is not a recipe for opportunism. In each instance too one must be able to distinguish real from imaginary advantage. And the labor and progressive forces must maintain true independence and not hesitate to criticize weaknesses and mistakes on the part of those with whom they work.

In the New York election it is not at all a question of making the best of a bad bargain. It is a question of using strength already achieved to acquire new strength. Labor's independent political activity through such instruments as PAC and the American Labor Party becomes even more crucial than when FDR was alive. Continued cooperation with the progressive sections of the Democratic Party becomes more imperative. Let no one who values his own future, his city's and the nation's future allow himself to be diverted from the central goal.

It seems to us that one of the important lessons which emerges from this experience is that the entire labor and progressive movement needs to understand that the Communists are an inseparable part of the democratic whole and no blow can be struck at them without striking at all the other parts. To our New York readers we suggest that the poisonous Hitler ideology, whether anti-Communism, anti-Semitism or Negro-baiting, can best be combatted in this election by working among your friends and neighbors to pile up a huge vote for the ALP city ticket and to reelect the Communist Councilmen, Ben Davis, Jr., and Peter V. Cacchione, and the Laborite, Michael J. Quill, as well as place in the city council the other Labor Party candidates.

LISTEN TO THE RUMBLE

The Dragon

Philadelphia.

MY EXPERIENCE as a dragon started this spring. However, it was only this week that I had the courage frankly to face and name the change I was undergoing. It had undoubtedly been germinating for years. These metamorphoses, as students of Ovid can testify, generally have a long tradition.

This week I finally took stock of myself. There were all the characteristic symptoms: a slight hardening of the arteries; an occasional snort of fire; the tendency to squirm which prevails throughout the dragon species. Furthermore, there was the growing length of me, particularly in prose. Finally, there was the shedding of the outer skin. This happened three times after the publication of Duclos' critique on the dissolution of the American Communist Party. There was the first resolution; the second; and then, the third. The thrice shedding of the skin in a year is familiar to students of dragon lore.

I had known for a long while that something was wrong with me. Following Duclos' criticism, it was obvious that I was *not* a Marxist-Leninist. It was clear that I *had* been a Revisionist. But what was I *now?* The symptoms cited showed that yesterday's Revisionist was not overnight the Marxist-Leninist of today. What then?

The genealogy of dragons has long been shrouded in the mists of antiquity. Am I to unveil this mystery? Has the Revisionist spawned the dragon?

MY WIFE was away for the summer. Otherwise, she would surely have noted the change. My first realization came as I was being driven along the Allegheny foothills by a man I had just met.

"I'm a correspondent," I told him, "of the *Daily Worker*."

"What kind of a paper is that?" he asked.

"It's a Communist paper," I informed him.

"I believe in socialism, myself," he volunteered. "I have been trying to find out something about it. Could you tell me?" For the rest of the journey of several hours he had me on the witness stand. He asked me about everything from surplus value to how the workers attain political power.

It was then that I first noted the dragon characteristics I have mentioned. Thereafter, in the city, hardly a day passed but I met a worker, a doctor, a businessman who kept after me—"What is Communism?"—"What is socialism?"

In this period I came face to face with the awful fact that I had been acting like a dragon for years. How does a dragon act? A dragon is known not only by the physical characteristics which I had developed. He is known by what he does. A dragon is a species that guards a great treasure. He lies coiled up in front of his cave. He keeps all comers from penetrating its recesses. He keeps his treasure inviolate.

I WAS the dragon of Communism. I had been keeping Americans from it for years. The witches, some dressed like Hitler and Hearst, others like Martin Dies, flew about on broomsticks screaming "Communism." I, the dragon, had maintained a twenty-four-hour watch over the real thing.

I find it very difficult to shed my skin for the fourth time, although I must and will. I am still snorting fire at the Americans. Late in August I issued a statement warning again that "the majority of the American people are not yet ready to accept the socialist road."

As if I, the dragon, were!

WALTER LOWENFELS.

NEW MASSES *invites its readers to contribute to its "Listen to the Rumble" with accounts of what they see and hear on the many significant problems facing the nation today.*

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MORGENTHAU ON GERMANY

By HANS BERGER

IN READING Henry Morgenthau's *Germany Is Our Problem*,* one cannot help but regret that this close collaborator of President Roosevelt had to step out of the Cabinet of President Truman. For whatever one may think of the details of his outlook as regards the treatment of Germany, in its most essential point it would have been an area of resistance in a cabinet where a Byrnes is Secretary of State and at a time when there is every tendency to use Germany and a western bloc as bulwarks against the Soviet Union. Mr. Morgenthau's book, therefore, is of special significance and importance. For it is a serious warning against the American—and for that matter, British—occupation policy. Mr. Morgenthau does not mince words about the obvious facts in the matter and their political significance: he writes that it is a "lame apology to say that these facts should not be aired in public because the Russians might learn how certain officials of the United States government are thinking. Such disclosures, it is said, might endanger our relations with Russia at a critical moment. But the Russians are quite well aware of this attitude on the part of some of our own and our allied officials. In daily dealings between governments such a fundamental point of view soon makes itself evident." These few lines explain the rather polemical character of Mr. Morgenthau's book, and they indicate against what and against whom he is polemicizing and why he wants to mobilize public opinion and enlighten it through his book.

It is in itself a most remarkable fact that hardly five months after the destruction of Hitler Germany, and only a few months after the Potsdam Conference, such an outstanding personality as Mr. Morgenthau is forced to the conclusion that the American occupation forces—except, of course, the main policy-making and control bodies—should be withdrawn from Germany at once. He makes this point in the interest of the American soldiers and in the interest of radically destroying German imperialism and the German war potential, and he notes that the task of policing Germany should be left to its neighbors, the Russians, Poles, Yugoslavs and so forth.

Mr. Morgenthau writes: "The disinclination to have American troops share in the routine of policing occupied Germany is no reflection of a desire to withdraw from American responsibilities and privileges in helping to maintain the peace of the world. The great majority of the American people are eager to have their country play its full part on the international stage. But the development of a peaceful world calls for each nation to contribute what it can best perform. The duties of an army of occupation in Germany are not the role Americans are best suited to act. It is no aspersion on the American soldier to judge him too inexperienced in the ways of international banditry to serve as guard in the German reformatory. The misfortunes of Europe have put its soldiers through the cruel and bitter course of training which fits them to serve most efficiently in the surveillance of Germany. They are willing and able to do the job. Americans can be content with the honor their men have won in the incomparable fight they have fought—and bring them home."

I EMPHASIZE the signal importance of Mr. Morgenthau's proposal at the outset because, after all, the most vital problem as regards Germany is not to have a lot of new proposals. The Potsdam decisions provide the basis for the destruction of German imperialism and fascism and for the encouragement of German democracy. The problem is how to have an occupation regime and an occupation policy that carries out the Potsdam agreement to the letter and in a really anti-fascist spirit. General Patton is only one outstanding example of the dilemma which Mr. Morgenthau contemplates. It is not always those who have covered themselves with glory on the battlefields against fascism who are at the same time best fitted to destroy all the social and economic roots of fascism in time of peace. Indeed, it is very farsighted and very brave for a man in Mr. Morgenthau's position to make his proposal at a time when others in Washington prefer to send troops to Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary in order to teach them "democracy" as it is defined in the imperialist lexicon.

To call this proposal the most important of his book is by no means to underestimate the importance of his other proposals for making Germany powerless to wage another war. Mr. Morgenthau is considered to be an exponent of the theory of the deindustrialization of Germany and the radical change of Germany's economy to an agrarian one. His book, however, proves that he does not go that far. He is in favor of the total elimination of German heavy industry in order to destroy Germany's war potential and the power of German monopolies. He would leave Germany her light industry. Mr. Morgenthau would send German heavy industry as reparations payment to Russia, Yugoslavia and the other countries, devastated by Hitler, and through that accelerate the reconstruction of these countries, their industrialization, and their independence from domination of Germany's heavy industry, and its European cartels. He argues very effectively against the thesis of the conscious or unconscious agents of German imperialism who cry over a poor Europe that cannot exist without powerful German industry.

Morgenthau would go further still. Because the coal of the Ruhr cannot be removed, he advises the removal of the Ruhr from Germany and its control by a body of the United Nations. In view of the economic importance of Ruhr coal he deems it impossible from an international standpoint to turn over this most important center in Europe to the control of one state. But this measure alone does not satisfy Mr. Morgenthau's desire to see German imperialism destroyed forever. He proposes in addition territorial changes and the division of Germany in two parts. Eastern Prussia and Southern Silesia would be incorporated into Poland. (The Yalta decisions have done more by also including Western Pomerania, and the Potsdam decisions give Koenigsberg to the Soviet Union.) The Saar basin and its adjacent territories bordered by the Rhine and Moselle would go to France. He would give some territory and the Kiel canal to Denmark, and parts of the Rhineland, if they desire, to Belgium and the Netherlands. He would de-Germanize all these territories to avoid the creation of dangerous minority questions and settle them with French, Bel-

* GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM, *a Plan for Germany, by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Harper. $2.*

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gians, Danes, and so forth. From the remaining Germany he proposes to form a South German state, consisting of Bavaria, Wuertemberg, Baden, joined with an independent Austria by a custom union and a North German state comprising a large part of the old Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia and several smaller states.

The economy in these two remaining German states should be based on light industry and agriculture. Morgenthau proposes to settle 5,000,000 workers on farms to be got by the expropriation of the Junkers and by reclaiming new farm land. He sees the possibility and tries to prove it statistically that in a few years of hard work Germans would be able to produce ninety-five percent of all the needed foodstuffs and that this new intensified and developed German agriculture would, together with the development of light industry, provide Germans a decent standard of living. Germans should have the right to import machinery and transportation equipments for peaceful use.

Morgenthau, on the basis of past history, is very distrustful of the kind of German democrat who provided the front for the revival of German imperialism after World War I. He thereby avoids such theories as the unchangeable character of "German blood" and by no means excludes the possibility of the development of a future German democracy. His thesis excludes everything in Germany that can lead to war and attract the international cartelists and advocates of *cordon sanitaire*.

A comparison of the Potsdam decisions with Mr. Morgenthau's ideas shows that Potsdam also emphasizes the organization of the German economy mainly on the basis of the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industry. However, these decisions do not include the elimination of all heavy industry. A paragraph of the Potsdam decisions says: "Production of metals, chemicals, machinery, and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved postwar peacetime needs." Apparently the signatories to the Potsdam agreement did not consider that to leave the Germans a minimum of—controlled—heavy industry would be a danger. The question of reparations was settled at Potsdam along the lines of Mr. Morgenthau's proposals. (Until now, unfortunately, the American and British occupation authorities have not delivered factory equipment from their territories to the Soviet Union as was decided at Potsdam.) The de-Nazification program of Potsdam is identical with Mr. Morgenthau's, and even more detailed. Potsdam emphasized much more than Mr. Morgenthau does the necessity of encouraging the democratic process, of legalizing trade unions, establishing anti-fascist democratic parties and self-administration. The Potsdam decisions reflect, therefore, a greater consideration of the importance of the German anti-fascist democratic forces and the possibility of the development of a new German democracy as Mr. Morgenthau desires. The experience of the Germany of today, especially in the Russian zone—but also in the other zones, although hampered by the attitude of the western occupation authorities—provides evidence that there are already enough anti-fascist democratic forces in the whole of Germany that can, if encouraged, become a very important factor in the eradication of German fascism and in preventing the revival of German imperialism.

MR. MORGENTHAU in his book makes the mistake of seeing in the German peasant the central figure of the future German democracy. This is in contradiction to all historical experience, not only in Germany, but in every other country in the world, including the United States. Because of his economic and social position the peasant or the small farmer wavers between the forces of reaction and progress. He is unable to play an independent role in modern society. He becomes either the instrument and the tail of reaction or the ally of the workers and of all other progressive forces in society, provided he is given proper leadership by the workers and the other progressive elements. The German peasantry can only become a force for democracy, for peace, if he is led by and allied with the most progressive German forces especially the workers, and if he is freed from the social, economic and political influences of the Junkers, the banks, the monopolies and their agents.

The Potsdam decisions do not partition Germany as Mr. Morgenthau proposes. If the decisions of Potsdam are carried out such a partition is not necessary to eradicate Nazism and prevent the revival of aggressive German imperialism. On the contrary, partition would only hamper the German democratic movement in regenerating the country. Partition would only create new and very complicated international problems. If the Potsdam program as regards Germany is not carried out, partition would not solve the German problem, but rather bring about the danger of one of these German states being used for the purpose of international reaction and imperialism.

One of the most important unsolved questions is, of course, the western borders of Germany, because it is there that a final decision must be made as to what to do with the Ruhr-Rhine industries, the forge of German imperialism. This problem is complicated because certain French, American and British circles do not intend destroying this dynamo of German imperialism, but want to include it in their plans for a Western bloc against the Soviet Union. DeGaulle's latest statement about his desire for such a Western bloc, his trip through the French occupation zone and his appeal to the German as "Europeans and Westerners"—applauded by the Vatican—shows clearly that he considers an alliance with western Germany against the USSR as one of the most important tasks of France, Great Britain, Holland and Belgium. It is clear then that all territorial changes in the West proposed by Morgenthau must be scrutinized from the point of view of whether they, under the given conditions, strengthen security and democracy as in the East—or on the contrary, strengthen the old Munichite policy in new forms.

Mr. Morgenthau is right when he declares that the Ruhr with its coal can under no circumstances be under the control of one non-German power, be it France, England or the United States. His proposal for international control of the Ruhr is, therefore, without doubt worthy of further discussions. The most important question at present, however—until the question of the Ruhr is settled internationally—is the removal of a maximum of heavy industry and the destruction of the German big trusts and cartels. Mr. Morgenthau, in demanding the removal of the heavy equipment of the German industry from the Ruhr and Rhine, comes nearer to the spirit of the Potsdam decisions than do the Western powers in the territories occupied by them.

One may differ in many respects with Mr. Morgenthau's book. But it cannot be denied that there is no other book by an American bourgeois liberal statesman which expresses so unquestionably the desire to destroy German imperialism once and for all, along with the idea of using Germany as a *cordon sanitaire* and as an instrument to fight Russia. Remembering this, it may not

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READERS' FORUM

Should O'Dwyer Win?

To New Masses: I have been watching the New York election campaign with a heavy heart. I am not a worker. I am a physician by profession, but I do not think that I would be very wrong in guessing that thousands of workers feel as I do. At this moment I am strongly tempted not to vote for the American Labor Party and certainly not for O'Dwyer. In fact I think that I shall not vote at all, because certainly Jonah Goldstein and Newbold Morris are not figures in whom I would entrust the city administration for more than two seconds. Morris is not in Goldstein's class, but he is not a man for me at a time when New York City needs a commanding personality in office, a personality with more than democratic impulses.

I am against O'Dwyer and I am against the ALP—even though I have supported it for several years—because he is its leading candidate. And unless the ALP is shown that it has committed a colossal blunder in accepting a Red-baiter then there is no guarantee that it will learn in the future that it cannot make deals with men who are at heart anti-labor and expect to have the prestige of a mass party. Red-baiting to me is abominable not because it is directed at Communists but because in the long run it is inevitably directed against the trade unions. I will not forget for a moment what happened in Germany. It took me a long time to come to the conclusion that my security as a doctor is dependent on the security of all workers and I therefore cannot have any faith in a mayoralty candidate who threatens that security with Red-baiting speeches. You may say that a vote for O'Dwyer on the ALP line strengthens the ALP so that it can pressure O'Dwyer back to a point of reasonableness. But that to me is a specious argument because once O'Dwyer is elected he will do as he darned well pleases. That's happened before and we must not allow it to happen again.

S. J.

Brooklyn.

(*See page 10 for editorial comment on this letter.*)

Atom Bomb Irradiation

To New Masses: I wish to express my appreciation for the very informative article, "The Meaning of the Mighty Atom" by my friend Kurt Conway which appeared in your August 21 issue.

I should like to take exception, however, to one item regarding the delayed effects on the human body produced by the radiations of the atomic bomb. The article mentions that . . . "The sperm cells undergo changes which will manifest themselves in crippled and deformed offspring." I do not believe that excessive irradiation of humans has thus far been known to produce abnormal offspring apart from a few possible instances in which pregnant women have received irradiation in amounts sufficient to deform but not kill the embryo. However, temporary or permanent sterilization was an all too common occurrence among the pioneer X-ray workers who were unaware of the effects of the rays in stopping the activities of the semeniferous tubules of the testes.

In the experimentation with fruit flies referred to earlier in the article irradiation is applied *after* the egg has been fertilized resulting in anomalous larvae with, for example, two heads, etc., which changes are passed on to succeeding generations. However, genetic changes in future generations of Japanese born at Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be rather unlikely. On the other hand, sterilization, as noted by Mr. Conway, is a possible consequence of the bombardment, as well as the stimulation of malignant growths, fatal or disabling burns and other effects which may become apparent at a later date.

Further material by Mr. Conway on the technical aspects of the possible future developments in atomic power and rockets would be most welcome.

Edward Earle Starr.

New York.

Wortis on Psychoanalysis

To New Masses: An editor of a lay journal, even a progressive one, may be excused for not having the scientific background to check the validity of statements on a subject requiring as much study and specialized experience as does psychoanalysis; he cannot be excused for giving space to an article as full of inconsistencies and unsupported general statements as is Joseph Wortis' article titled "The Psychoanalytic Tradition" [NM, October 2]. The contradictions must be evident to any intelligent layman who reads English and takes the trouble to understand the manifest content of what he is reading. Or are there esoteric meanings which escape this reader? In either case, the article can bring only confusion, not clarification, to a good many of your readers. And clarification on this subject is long overdue.

I am not a student of Freud, and therefore cannot challenge Mr. Wortis' version of Freud's theories. However, Mr. Wortis' own contradictions, his choice of quotations from Dr. Karen Horney to make a point (Dr. Horney admittedly having strayed pretty far from Freud), and his completely false description of practical psychoanalytical procedure—all combine to make his entire presentation suspect, obscuring even his own valid points.

"We do not regard the analysis as an end in itself," says Mr. Wortis. What competent analyst does? I am one of the lucky neurotics who has experienced psychoanalysis—the application of Freud's therapeutic method in life. If there was one point of emphasis that overshadowed everything else, it was the emphasis on reality, on the application of hard-won insight to *action* in real-life situations. Correct analysis is only half the solution to a problem. The second half, and the toughest, is translating the understanding into action. Every analytic patient I've known has at one time or another complained about the analyst's insistence on this point.

Undoubtedly, since analysts are human like all doctors, and since they're products of contemporary society, the degree of professional competence varies, details of method vary, and the results vary with the personality and responsiveness of the individual patient. But in this reader's judgment, psychoanalysis contributes an insight into human behavior which can be of tremendous value to anyone or any group interested in individual personality and personal relationships at work on the job, in the trade union, in neighborhood groups, in political organizations. The fact that treatment is of necessity limited to a comparatively small proportion of individuals who need it does not invalidate its usefulness.

The end-aim of psychoanalytic therapy is to release the individual from unconscious fetters, from emotional conflicts, and to free his energies to deal with real-life situations in an adult way. The energies wasted in fighting inner conflicts and imaginary enemies are channelled into constructive action. Many of us are thus better able to fight our real enemies and enjoy our friends.

The end-aim of progressive social thinking is to release the individual from economic conflicts for survival, to free his energies for genuinely creative work and enjoyable leisure.

There need be no conflict between the two movements—if they understand each other. They are interrelated. The article by Mr. Wortis is no contribution toward understanding.

Let's not worry so much about Freud's politics that we fail to use constructively the scientific contribution he has made to the understanding of human personality. We can't know too much about the single individual if we want to educate large masses of individuals to effective democratic action.

A. G.

New York.

P.S. After reading the second instalment today I really think you owe your readers a serious apology. Intelligent presentation of opposing viewpoints on a controversial sub-

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WHAT THE DOCKERS WANT

AN EDITORIAL

As we write, the longshoremen of New York loom large in New York headlines, and millions throughout the nation are watching the strike which has involved some 60,000 the past fortnight. The press, as usual, has painted a violently distorted picture of the issues, striving to whip up public antagonism against the strikers. News stories and editorials are slanted toward jaundicing servicemen and veterans against the dockers.

But the issues are plain and simple: the longshoremen want their elementary working conditions improved. Subject to the vagaries of irregular employment, hazardous working conditions, they want conditions which most trades take for granted, and which in their own industry have been won by the West Coast dockers years ago. In brief, they want five provisions incorporated in the contract under question: that the slingloads be reduced to 2,240 pounds from loads over twice that weight; double time for meal-hours worked; guarantee of a four-hour work shift, twenty men gangs and two daily shape-ups (lining up for hiring) instead of three. The slogan of the rank-and-file this past fortnight has been: "No contract containing our demands—no work." And because Joseph Ryan, czar of the International Longshoreman's Association (AFL), has sought to railroad the men back into their jobs without these elementary conditions, the crown is slipping from his damp brow. For years he has ruled the New York waterfront with his royal coterie of goons, but never before has his dictatorial authority been challenged as it is now. Yet although he has the support of the press, the support of governmental labor conciliators, the support of various AFL officials in the New York area, the aid of New York's mayor who called upon the men to return to work, he has failed to browbeat the men to his viewpoint.

On the contrary. A rank-and-file committee has emerged during the strike which reflects the insurgency of the stevedores. Their port-wide meeting in New York's Manhattan Center, attended by 5,000, emphasized their intent to continue the strike until their demands are met. A showdown was reached there when the stevedores unanimously accepted proposals by Mayor La Guardia and their rank-and-file leadership to return to work as soon as the shipping lines agree to meet with a democratically elected negotiating committee chosen by secret ballot. They adopted proposals along the following lines: that a democratic ballot be held among ILA members within one week to elect members of a negotiating committee to meet the shipowners for action upon the strikers' demands: the election to be supervised and controlled by an outside committee of citizens; the strikers to return to work as soon as the shipowners agree to recognize and meet with the negotiating committee elected by secret ballot; negotiations to begin as soon as the election of the negotiating committee has been certified; an impartial arbitrator to be agreed upon if negotiations reach a deadlock. All terms agreed to under the Ryan contract would be adhered to, but the door is left open for further discussion around such provisions and additional demands. Final terms would be submitted to the membership for ratification.

As we went to press the headlines declared that Ryan rejected these proposals. "The Mayor's plan is the silliest thing I've ever heard," he grunted. And he added, "The rank and file doesn't exist as far as we are concerned." Obviously on the defensive now, he signals his intent to try to smash the strike by scabbing and thuggery. But this should be clear now to the general public: the full onus is on Ryan and the shipping corporations. The strikers are willing to settle, but the tarnished czar of the waterfront and his companions among the shipowners refuse.

As for the press headlines concerning troopships: the truth is that the strikers have wired the War Shipping Administration offering to make arrangements to load and unload the ships. But their proposal has, to date, not been met.

One further comment: it is highly significant that the strikers have received the support of four maritime unions. In a statement issued to the press and to the various interested groups, the maritime unions have warned that any attempt by Ryan or the shipowners to "doublecross will be fought with the full national powers and resources of our respective unions." These include the Maritime Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union (unaffiliated), the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards, the American Communications Association-CIO, the National Maritime Union-CIO, and the West Coast longshoremen. This is one of the most heartening aspects of the strike, which merits the support of all progressives, and affords a moral for all unions, particularly those of the AFL. Concerted action is the password to victory.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Politics and Armies

SUPERFICIALLY General Marshall's report on the war would seem to be a characteristic document prepared by a professional soldier professionally interested in maintaining a polished, powerful and alert military apparatus. Yet the document in its largest connotations is primarily political. It reflects the kind of thinking that dominates military circles and must be examined in the context of current American foreign policy. What Marshall says, then, is integral to the perspective which Washington has on the way the peace is to be preserved and, judging from the report, the Marshall approach will not preserve it for long.

For one, despite Marshall's extraordinary talent as strategist and organizer, his memory is all too short. He forgets, after giving our Allies fulsome praise for providing us with time to pull our weight in weapons and manpower, that the United States can never go it alone against aggressors, with or without the atomic bomb, with or without our industrial plant. In fact there is a certain cynicism when he says that until international organization has "proved" itself able to prevent wars we must have an enormous military machine; and, further, his cynicism reaches a high point when he notes, with the agreement of the State Department, that a strong army can be used as a big stick in foreign negotiations. This is all he seems to have learned from a war which we won as *part of a coalition*. Apparently to him the coalition was a matter of expediency and now that there is no need for the expedient there is no longer any need for coalition.

Yet all the evidence proves the contrary. War became possible and war came inevitably because Hitler could keep the three great powers apart. Hitler was doomed to defeat when unity replaced division. Why should military reason be so perverse as to believe that future aggressors will not operate in the same way as they have done before? Why should political policy be such as to ignore the fundamental fact, tacitly admitted by Marshall, that without the Red Army we would have been defeated? And why now if our aim presumably is to keep the peace should we reject the states that won the peace?

A big army such as Marshall envisions merely inculcates fear in other countries that United States policy intends to forego international cooperation for unilateral ventures, which in the past have shown themselves bankrupt and directly leading to war. There is only one principle by which the size of the American army must be determined. And that principle is collective security based on the indivisibility of peace. The army need be no larger than what the United Nations Organization will require. We are a capitalist power and the normal and natural drive of capitalism is towards war. That drive can only be curbed and harnessed through international unity, in which the Soviet Union, as a non-imperialist country, takes its place as an equal. Big armies have never prevented wars; a foreign policy rooted in coalition can. General Marshall's conclusions will only aid the rabid imperialists whose foreign policy requires big armies.

Uneasy China

THE limited agreement between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang is a step toward bringing unity and security to China. One of the most important points of agreement is the decision to postpone the National Assembly which the Kuomintang had called for November 12 in order to put its dictatorship on a quasi legal basis and to substitute for it a Political Consultative Council. This Council will apparently be composed of Communists, representatives of the Kuomintang and of the several small democratic parties plus independent intellectuals. Problems which could not be solved in the recent negotiations will presumably be taken up by the new Council.

A number of the decisions are noteworthy for the admission implicit in them of the Kuomintang's complete lack of democracy despite its frequent pretensions to the contrary. These include the agreement to annul laws directed against civil liberties, to free political prisoners, and try traitors. Of significance is the decision to legalize all political parties and the expression of a common hope to achieve "peace, unity and democracy" in the building of "a new China."

The two most vital items omitted from the agreement are the unification of the armed forces and the government of the vast areas in North China liberated by Communist-led armies. Until these questions are settled democratically the arrangement between the Communists and the Kuomintang is more in the nature of a stand-off agreement than a lasting solution.

There is every reason to be skeptical of the honesty of the Kuomintang's intentions even within the scope of this limited agreement. For simultaneously with the publication of its terms the news sifted through the Chungking censorship that the United States would fly two entire Kuomintang armies into North China during the next few weeks. When this is viewed alongside the sizeable forces of US Marines that have already been landed in the north it becomes obvious that the American government and the Chungking dictatorship are sabotaging the unity agreement which the former has supported with words and the latter signed.

Mr. Byrnes—judging from his work at the London conference of foreign ministers, the policy he is pursuing toward Hirohito and American activities in China—is becoming quite skilled at the evil art of treaty breaking. The purpose of a solemn pledge, it would seem, is to confuse the democratic opposition while laying the base for repudiating that pledge. Chiang Kai-shek is, of course, an old hand at the game. That would not matter too much if he were not bolstered by Washington because the Generalissimo commands little power in his own country and even less respect. Byrnes, however, commands great power in China and his deceitful policies have not been sufficeintly exposed at home. The combination, therefore, is excessively dangerous and keeps the Chinese nation on the verge of ruin.

Seething Argentina

THE crust of Argentine fascism has been broken, but in its several parts it still lies heavy over whatever is seething beneath. The first events consisted

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of changes in fascist personnel, not in the complete overthrow of fascist rule. As we write, the power of the army clique—the GOU—has been challenged and its role diminished. It nevertheless remains to be seen whether this phase of the Argentine struggle will come to more than a series of palace coups.

The strength of Argentina's democratic coalition, measured in numbers and in variety of groups and classes participating, has become immense. It includes practically every stratum of society except the relatively small group of Nazi-fascists. The latter have held themselves in power primarily by terrorism. The preponderance of military weapons, including the Nazi-trained police, were on their side.

According to information received a few days ago by the Council for Pan-American Democracy and summarized in the current issue of the *Americas*, "the six political parties of the democratic coalition are more united than ever and see in Peron's resignation no change except that the opportunity for forcing a change has grown greater."

The outcome of the Argentine crisis will be the establishment of a democratic-bourgeois state. Historically it will mark a forward step in the industrial revolt against feudalism and colonialism. It will thus increase the power of the capitalist class as against that of the feudal landowners. By the same token it will weaken the colonial relationship with Great Britain and strengthen the influence of American imperialism. Whether all this will come about during the present phase of the crisis or at some future date remains to be seen.

Atomic Logic

ASKED last week by a reporter whether his insistence on keeping the atom bomb a secret had anything to do with the state of American-Soviet relations, President Truman replied that it did not. According to him the difficulties between both countries are attributable to the fact that they do not have a common language and translations are not alway exactly the same. That, we submit, is at least a fresh approach, if not, a profound one. We venture to say that Mr. Roosevelt knew about as much Russian as does Mr. Truman; that the translations made for Mr. Roosevelt were made by the same people who make them for his successor. Yet what a world of difference there is in the way FDR got on with the Russians compared to HT's!

"If only the Russians spoke English!"

Mr. Truman is rapidly becoming an atomic power politician. He admits that the theory of atomic fission is about as private a matter as the Empire State Building. Nevertheless, the United States will not let any other country in on the "know how"—not even Britain and Canada who supposedly helped in developing the bomb. Washington, despite the protests of scientists here and in England and the warnings of Secretary Henry Wallace, resists the idea for it is part of its arsenal of clubbing other states—diplomatically of course—into bending the knee before it. The picture is almost complete: a big army and navy, Pacific bases, the atomic bomb, a kid-glove policy towards the German and Japanese monopolists—all at the service of American imperialists who insist on either ruling or ruining.

Atomic energy is the key to an abundant life in the future—the immediate future. American capitalism is scared to death of what the physicists have discovered and that partly accounts for the hush-hush, the terrorization of atomic scientists whose training and ideals collide with the whole policy of using science in the interests of the gilded few. Not all scientists of course. Enough of them have become imbued with the mores of big business so that they behave and talk like the men who pay their salaries. Dr. Irving Langmuir, a director of the General Electric Laboratories, testified a few days ago before a Senate committee holding hearings on a bill for a national science program. And what he had to say is just what his overlords would have wanted him to say. He baited labor, took a few cracks at the USSR, and ended up by pleading for monopoly's patent rights. Unfortunately, Senator Magnuson, who should know better, took Langmuir seriously and there is now an attempt to dilute the Kilgore bill which in part provides for the widest dissemination and use of government research findings. The provision has been changed to permit monopoly to take over by giving it the right to obtain patents on federally financed investigations. A few bags full of mail should change it right back again.

Deserter

THE Hearst press, one may agree, constitutes a fair enough index to reaction. When it gathers an individual to its bosom, he may well be suspect by all democratic Americans. So when Louis Budenz rates enthusiastic notice in the New York *Journal American*,

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Open Letter to Jack Warner

IN 1938 when it was not considered fashionable to be publicly anti-fascist, you generously gave an anti-fascist theater group in Hollywood free time on the Warner Brothers radio station. Your company has, in addition, compiled as good a record as any in the production of progressive topical films. Now and then you even gave out personal statements on the social responsibility of the movies. That kind of policy had won for Warner Brothers millions of friends both in this country and abroad.

But you haven't those friends any longer. In a stupid and vicious manner that would befit the most brutal of stormtroopers you have ordered goons and gangsters to attack a peaceful picket-line. You have claimed to be distressed at anti-Semitism, yet the hose, the blackjack and the tear-gas bomb are the very instruments of the ruffians who are trying to strongarm our country into fascism.

No one doubts the shudders that gripped you when you witnessed the horrors of the concentration camp on your trip to Germany. You were "appalled at the tremendous difficulty of educating a nation which had been insulated from the truth for so long." Well, the first step used by the Nazis in the insulation process was the smashing of the trade unions. Every person who has emerged from kindergarten knows that the end of trade unions means the end of democracy, for these workingclass organizations are the very kernel of democratic action. Without *free* trade unions (and that does not mean company influenced outfits like the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employes) such rights as freedom of assembly, speech and petition become meaningless. And if you don't think that free trade unionism is the issue, let us once again remind you that picketing your studios are representatives of 8,000 striking workers belonging to fifteen locals, affiliated with seven internationals. In November of 1943, one hundred percent of the set decorators, working in every major studio in Hollywood voted to join the screen set designers Local 1421 affiliated with the AFL International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. You and other producers refused to recognize Local 1421 as a bargaining agent for the set decorators, because this new alignment strengthened honest unionism and, conversely, weakened the racketeer-led IATSE. We might remind you that leaders Bioff and Browne of IATSE were sent to the penitentiary for their crimes. The issue of free trade unionism was further involved when you and the other producers sought to set aside the Wagner act. You wanted to throw out the ballots of the strikers on the ground that a striker was no longer an employe. Had you persuaded the National Labor Relations Board to rule on this chicanery any reactionary employer would be able to lock out his employes, hire an army of plug-uglies and get them to vote as he dictated. Such a circumstance would have smashed the trade union movement as effectively as any Hitler regulation. Fortunately an aroused and alert public opinion scotched that game, and the ballots will be properly counted, probably before this letter is published.

Your tactics with the pickets have brought the issues out into the open. Every union man, every citizen who is *really* concerned with the democratic future of the country, has become part of the fight. That is why fifty cars of Lockheed aircraft workers joined the picket line. That is why 300 locked up pickets are replaced by 1,000; then 1,000 by double that number. Those who were once your friends feel that when you were talking about economic stability, full employment, the stamping out of intolerance, etc., you were mouthing a lot of phrases that had no meaning to you. No? Then you certainly have a lot of explaining to do.

THE EDITORS.

one can draw the necessary conclusions. The fuss made by Hearst and other fascist-minded publishers over Budenz' resignation from the Communist Party is the key to his action: they accurately interpret his resignation as desertion from the labor movement. And they welcome him as a recruit to reaction which desperately seeks turncoats these days as the people move toward ever-greater unity and militancy in their aspirations for a genuine peace and for security. The nub of the case is this: Budenz is a deserter—the rest of his contentions are the fancy rationalizations of a renegade. His desertion came at a time when the stresses in this country are increasing from the drive of those who would rob the people of victory. When the winds begin to blow, the rotten leaf is the first to fall from the bough.

Budenz' cry of "spiritual tyranny" is nauseating hypocrisy as he moves into the faculty of a university that could not brook the free expression of one of its staff, Prof. Francis McMahon, and expelled him from its ranks. Nor can Budenz use the pretext of religion as the basis of his action. Those who know the Communist Party know that religious belief is no criterion for membership. As William Z. Foster said in a statement on this question: "The Communist Party of the United States, like the Communist Parties of France, Italy and other countries, has many Catholic members, as it has Protestant and Jewish members, all of whom are sought and welcomed into our Party without distinction or inquiry into their religious convictions. In fact, the Communist Party's record is proof that it is the most stalwart champion of the unity of all workers and progressives, regardless of religious, racial or other differences."

Ten years ago Budenz was an active figure in the circle of A. J. Muste and his associated Trotskyists in the labor movement. After a public denunciation of his previous associates, he sought admittance into the Communist Party. The Communists point out that they made a mistake in accepting his professions repudiating his previous anti-labor associations as proof of his convictions. The corroding influence of Trotskyism is not overcome by a public statement and the mistake was made of entrusting him with posts of responsibility, which for many months he has not fulfilled. "In view of these facts" the Communists feel "compelled to be critical of their own position. Failure to give strict consideration to the political character of persons promoted in the labor move-

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ment was evident in the undue promotion given to Budenz." "This was an example of political looseness," the national board of the Communist Party points out, related to the erroneous policies of the past period that were repudiated at its July convention. The Board called upon the Party to examine such errors to guarantee that they will be relentlessly rooted from their organization.

Finally, the newspapers carry notices that Budenz will make a nationwide tour assailing the Communist Party. His frightened flight from the labor movement heads him plump into the arms of Rankin and Bilbo, also engaged in a hysterical, Red-baiting crusade under the cry of "Americanism," which masks their assault upon everything progressive in American life. Thus Budenz completes the classic course of renegacy.

The Lid Is Ajar

"INCENTIVE" price increase is the very latest formula designed to undermine the people's buying power and living standards. This not too subtle mode of reducing the real wages and salaries of the lower brackets has been recommended by John D. Small, chief of the new Civilian Production Administration created to replace the War Production Board and supervise reconversion to peacetime goods. Mr. Small was considering offering these "incentives" initially to the textile and apparel industry to encourage them to speed up the program of producing low-cost clothing. He assured the correspondents at his press conference that the "incentive" price increases would have no effect on the cost of living without elaborating how the miracle would be achieved. It is a sorry state of affairs when one administration spokesman after another displays this dangerous and contradictory type of thinking, undermining the authority of the organization which bears the main burden of the battle for price controls—the OPA. Mr. Small is no doubt uneasy about the veritable sit-down strike of manufacturers demanding the liquidation of the OPA and unimpeded rights to raise prices. He would solve the difficulty at least in part by capitulating to the manufacturers' demands and still assure the public that their living costs would remain stationary. His position gives aid and comfort and additional inspiration to manufacturers who are holding up reconversion as a bludgeon on the too yielding administration for further corporation tax reductions and the elimination of the OPA. This traditional greed for profits on the part of a selfish minority directly endangers the livelihood and the living standards of the entire nation and paves the road to economic depression. Surely the chief of an administration department on reconversion should understand a few elementary facts about our economic system.

Here and There

● We are such great democrats! Our press fanfared the news that we had just allowed the eleven picked Koreans constituting the Korean Advisory Council to "elect" the governor of the province of Kyand-Kido by *secret ballot*. The election was from a six man list made up by the American Military Governor, Gen. A. V. Arnold; and the character of the list may be deduced from the successful candidate's status of "Korean industrialist."

● And how we keep our word! After his strenuous efforts to weasel us out of the Potsdam agreement Secretary of State Byrnes is trying to legitimatize our unilateral way with Japan on the basis of keeping our word with the Emperor! Even the New York *Times* gagged at that!

● And the British military officers are such gentlemen! Maj. Gen. T. C. M. Winwood, appearing as counsel for Kramer, the Beast of Belsen, at the current war crimes trial, sniffed at the beast's victims as merely "dregs of the ghettoes."

● Recognition for a native Nazi! Outraged by Senator Bilbo of "Dear Dago," "You Kike" and "You N——r" fame, Edward Bykowski, wounded war veteran, helped history catch up with itself by according Bilbo suitable recognition as a Nazi. He wrote: "As a representative of the American people I am taking this opportunity of forwarding you the Iron Cross."

Readers' Forum

(*Continued from page 16*)

ject could be stimulating reading. But. Mr. Wortis' doubletalk, his pompous confusion of meaningless phrases, produces only an unsavory hash. Either he really has nothing to say and didn't know how to avoid it, or he has deliberately taken you for a ride.

Ode

ON COMPLETION OF THE CULTURAL ISSUE OF NEW MASSES

Let's read a little poetry each day
List to the lilt of sonnet and of lay
But don't expect too much.
A peoples' rhyme our ear would like to hear
A verse that sings out clear and comes not dear
But it seems there's none such.

Our poets like to clamber up a tower
And from their heights upon the world to glower
But nothing comes of that.

If verse belongs to mystery man or priest
Their philosophic sutures to resist,
It's talking through the hat.

But workers woo rhymed words right bold and clear
That help to build a world sans want and fear
When union men stand pat.

We think the muse that ivory tower rents
Comes forth in vellum, three dollars fifty cents
Must fall a little flat.

Our rhyme we'll read at end of working day
For price that's less than tenth of one week's pay
We'll sing it to the cat.

A worker's press, Walt Whitman's love of man
Longfellow's meter, Sandburg's tim-tam-tam
Will build the people's verse.

Stir too this muse's stew we're after gettin'
And salt well with science strong of Marx and Lenin.

DOROTHY JUNE NEWBURY.
Chicago.

Change the Rules

TO NEW MASSES: May I suggest that NM have prepared a history of the development of the rules of our legislative houses, from the establishment of these bodies to the present day?

These rules have come to constitute a barbed-wire entanglement behind which our legislators are making war on the other two branches of government, intending to disintegrate the executive branch and blackmail the judicial, to the establishment of themselves as a dictatorial body exercising all governmental functions at will.

Publication of such an expose of the viciousness of a body of rules used not to oil the machinery of law making but to obstruct and disrupt will focus public conviction that swift and drastic revamping of the rules must be forced.

HELEN WEST HELLER.
New York.

Using NM

TO NEW MASSES: The article "Statistics Are People," by Joseph Foster in this week's NEW MASSES [October 9], is one that deserves praise. I brought it into the shop and was able to clear up some confusion that was circulating among some workers.

I would like to see a series of articles on the same subject written in the same clear manner.

R. S.
New York.

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REVIEW and COMMENT

PROBING WRITERS' PROBLEMS

A discussion article by ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

DURING the past months the staff of NEW MASSES, together with contributors and friends, have been meeting to discuss the work of the magazine. Three such sessions were held on culture. Most of the participants being writers, these sessions became, in effect, writers' meetings. Many divergent views were expressed. Here, in a necessarily condensed form, I present my views, which had the support of most of those present. I hope that articles presenting all viewpoints, and in greater detail than is possible in this summary, will emerge from the discussion. They will be offered to our readers as they reach us.

The discussion could be listed under three general heads: The State of Marxist Criticism; Contributions of the Left to American Criticism; and The Relation of the Socially Conscious Writer to the Labor Movement.

THE STATE OF MARXIST CRITICISM

IT WAS the reluctant general conclusion that no formulated Marxist criticism exists, serving, as do Marx's *Capital*, Lenin's *State and Revolution* or Stalin's *On the National Question* in their fields. (It should be added that no general, non-Marxist canon of critical principles exists either.) The best esteemed, formal Marxist critical writings are those of Plekhanov and Mehring. But even Plekhanov's are meager and mainly useful as examples of method, and Mehring's are not available in English translation. As for the comments on culture by Marx and Engels, they are fragmentary and incidental, and of value chiefly as cautions against rigid and schematic formulations.

Other countries are perhaps somewhat better served than ours. England, for example, in Christopher Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality*, integrating recent advances in the social sciences, to establish the social role of literature. Such works as the fiction of Aragon, with its mature understanding of the inter-functioning of the individual and society and its secure Marxist sense of history, might imply a comparatively advanced French criticism. And, by report, Germany before the Nazi eclipse had a well developed Marxist criticism.

Because of its socialist nature, Soviet criticism will inevitably have much to contribute, but from what has reached us, not immediately. Much of its content has been polemics on issues too localized in Soviet trends to establish general principles, and too little applicable to our current problems to be helpful as method. Better suited to us would be the work of the great pre-revolutionary Russian social critics like Byelinsky, Chernychevsky and Pissarev whose work was done in a comparable period of social ferment.

There is a need for a closer interaction of these separate developments. American Marxists can strive, without feeling undue handicaps, to win a socialist competition in the creation of a Marxist criticism.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE LEFT

WHEN Marxist principles have been established in criticism it is likely to turn out that their main lines were already drawn in the social criticism of the Left. The impact of this criticism in its most influential period, the middle thirties, did not come from original contributions. For the criticism was, essentially, a restatement in more accurate, Marxist terms, of the effects of the social environment, upon culture, already observed by such great nineteenth-century critics as Taine, Georg Brandes and the American, Vernon Parrington (*Main Currents in American Thought*).

What gave the work of the Left critics of the thirties its impact was their enthusiasm, tenacity and their boldness in applying social criticism to current work. With these they won a major intellectual victory. To place a work within its social frame has now become an obligation of the critic. Indeed, it is the only, so far, established critical principle that I know of. Even critics on the Right are compelled to use it and only renegades vainly seek to discredit it.

However, in the course of their campaign, critics of the Left used a number of incidental concepts which have since lost their value. For some time they have merely served as epithets and no longer as critical instruments. Among them are terms like "escapism," the "ivory tower" and "decadence."

"ESCAPISM"

IN OCTOBER 1930, when Mike Gold first made use of the idea of literary "escape" in reviewing the books of Thornton Wilder, it was succinct, apt and electrifying. It challenged the assumptions of the "esthetic" criticisms of the time, exposing its evasions of reality. It was a well-timed battle cry, and it directed the militant, social consciousness of the period. But it was hardly a critical instrument, hardly a measure of literary values. From the first it rendered moral rather than esthetic judgments.

For that reason it became, for both sides, a device for moral pressure. Reactionaries in Hollywood, for example, defend the world of "escapism" as a world of beauty and virtue opposed to evil and ugly reality. Thereby they seek to detour criticism of the shallowness, hypocrisy, dullness, and confusion of their work.

But prudery crept into the other side as well. I can illustrate with an anecdote. A friend seeing me with a volume of poems, wisecracked, "Escapist!" Later, seeing him with a mystery story, I wisecracked back, "Escapist!" "No," rationalized my friend, "I read this to know how to meet plots against the Party."

Thus the concept was blunted into a club against imagination and relaxation, against the satisfaction of human needs, properly among the functions of culture. As a critical tool, "escapism" thus became too misshapen from its overload of marginal associations for any precise use.

THE IVORY TOWER AND DECADENCE

SIMILAR histories lie behind the "ivory tower" and "decadence." From critical instruments these terms too have

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been dulled into epithets. Through their misuse mistakes have been made in the evaluations of masters as well as of current writers. The misevaluation of Henry James is a case in point.

In such misuses Left criticism has sometimes been diverted from its main direction into culturally reactionary by-paths. Thus, as moral pressures were substituted, in these terms, for critical analysis, important functions in the creative process were misunderstood and even denied. There was a tendency to use them to restrict the area of experiment in form and exploration into states of consciousness. But that area is as vital to the arts as the corresponding area of "pure science" is vital to the sciences. It would surely be unwise to continue on ways of thinking that have led us to confine the brilliant work of a Kenneth Burke into an "ivory tower" not of Burke's construction but a mirage of our own; or to dispose of the vast contribution of James Joyce on the "dung heap of decadence" to which some over-literal left-wing critics have consigned him along with other important writers of our age.

ON "OFFICIAL ART"

RECOGNITION of the social role of the writer involves a recognition of his social responsibility. This is acknowledged, now, on the Right as well as the Left. Since T. S. Eliot's public affiliation to the church and the crown, the Left writer's affiliation, formal or informal, to organizations of the labor movement is no longer a phenomenon.

But where is the Left writer to look for authority? There was a suggestion that the NEW MASSES constitute itself the cultural authority for the Left on the grounds that, in any event, what appears in the magazine is presumed to be "official." All the editors of the magazine concur in rejecting such a role, and readers will be mistaken if they regard opinions in the cultural section of NEW MASSES as "official" pronouncements. There were many citations from experience given at the meeting to show the dangers of such a role.

In particular the Soviet experience was pointed to. It was recalled that, for a period of about three years, ending in 1932, the RAPP (Association of Revolutionary Writers), in collaboration with similar organizations in the other arts, secured virtual control of Soviet culture. Their "official," leftist program brought the arts to a standstill, and Soviet culture did not pick up momentum again until the government intervened, dissolved RAPP and its allied

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MONDAY

ANTI-SEMITISM—HISTORY AND PROBLEMS
Dr. Raphael Mahler

HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA
I. B. Bailin, Dr. H. M. Morais, Lester Zirin

TUESDAY

SURVEY OF JEWISH LITERATURE
Dr. Herbert I. Bloom

YIDDISH I — *Aaron Bergman*

SURVEY OF JEWISH HISTORY
Rabbi Herman Pollack

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH FESTIVALS, CUSTOMS AND FOLKWAYS
Dr. Herbert I. Bloom

WEDNESDAY

HEBREW I—*Sol Gordon*

JEWISH COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE U.S.A.
Eli Cohen, Jesse Mintus, Maurice Rosenberg

CLASSIC YIDDISH LITERATURE
Henry Goodman

THURSDAY

WORLD JEWISH COMMUNITIES
Mary Himoff

NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE—*Mary Himoff*

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organizations and denied "official" status to any school of art.

THE WRITER AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

IT WAS the sense of the meetings that the safest authority, as yet, is the writer's own experience. Through the reactions of labor audiences and the organizational or agitational work that he does, the writer gradually defines his responsibilities to the labor movement.

These experiences, as I have observed them, involved a complex interaction. The writer who took his stand with the labor movement necessarily made sacrifices. To begin with, he took risks in his career. His writing for the needy "Left" publications was done without payment. Impressed by the great and urgent needs of the labor movement he sometimes assumed disproportionate obligations to the neglect of his writing. The sense of emergency even led him at times to subordinate artistic values in his work to what he felt to be pressing political need. Projecting inner pressures outward, he imagined appeals and reproaches that were never made, and often took the description of a crisis as a hinted demand.

On the other hand the political people he was in contact with were overburdened men and women trying to manage a continuing emergency with a chronic manpower shortage. However sensitive and broad visioned they might be, immediate need often led them to take advantage of what appeared to be willingly offered services.

Writers sometimes showed manuscripts to labor leaders on the assumption that that was expected of them. On similar assumptions they sometimes took an adverse review of their work in the Left press, as an official repudiation. In both cases, of course, the assumptions were wrong.

Such mistaken assumptions are less likely now. The atmosphere of the labor movement that made them possible has changed. Fifteen years of intensive experience with thousands of writers, painters, musicians and other cultural workers have had their influence.

In effect the experience of the Left writer has oscillated between two poles. At one the writer obliterates his literary self in the role of organizer. This of course is no solution of the general problem, however, it may serve the individual as a personal solution. At the other is the obliteration of his labor affiliations with the writer withdrawing more and more until his participation is restricted to the occasional contribution of his sig-

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nature. However this may satisfy his self opinion, it has proved of little value to the labor movement.

TIME AND THE MOMENT

VIRTUALLY all writers think in terms of work they hope will endure. They also expect it of their work in the labor movement. But in actual practice they often find themselves writing for the moment — to report immediate events or to propagandize for immediate objectives.

This is an honorable as well as useful function. Similarly it is a useful as well as honorable function to produce lasting works. Such works, reflecting reality from a Marxist focus, are of fundamental value to the labor movement.

The harm is in confusing the two. However good reporting and immediate propaganda may be (and in the work of writers like John Reed, Mayakovsky and Ehrenburg it reaches classic stature) the writing done for the moment seldom serves beyond the moment.

Some writers have sought to solve a conflict of conscience by trying to do the two in one. They have written books in such a way as also to serve immediate political expediencies. The results showed either in weakened and schematic writing—or wasted writing. For too often a new emergency contradicted the one the work was to meet.

No writer need worry about being politically correct if his work is faithful to reality. One important aspect of Marxism is its facing up to reality in everything. And the classics are eternally "correct" because they are representations of reality. And that is why the socialist Soviet Union is preeminently the country in which the classics live. The Marxist writer adds this to his advantages: his Marxist understanding enlarges his capacity to understand reality. Let him use it!

Morgenthau on Germany

(*Continued from page* 14)

be too difficult to find common solutions with him if he can be convinced that other solutions may better or more quickly achieve his basic aims.

Mr. Morgenthau has called his book *Germany Is Our Problem*. Perhaps the book should have another title: *American Policy Towards Germany Is Our Problem*. And this "our"—as the book proves—does not mean only Americans, it means the whole world. For American policy towards Germany is a world problem and the key to many questions that are knotty and full of dangers.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

"DEEP ARE THE ROOTS"

Reviewed by MATT WAYNE

AFTER all the professional reviews of *Deep Are The Roots* are read I imagine that the best commentary on the new play by Arnaud d'Usseau and James Gow is to be found in the lobby of the Fulton Theater between acts. For this observer the audience reaction is nearly as exciting as the play itself—imagine people talking at intermission about the *play!* Critical reservations which would ordinarily be held against a play's account seem petty and esoteric when confronted with such absorption. I actually heard a sallow elderly woman say, "I feel I ought to go home and think." This, I should add, occurred at a matinee performance.

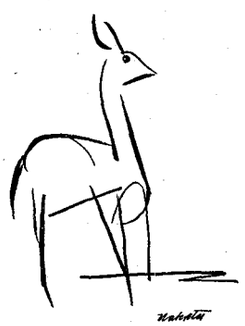
Deep Are The Roots is a social melodrama dealing with situations which in the United States today are verging toward explosion. In brief, it tells the story of Brett Charles, a Negro officer who returns "home" to the Deep South. Son of a housemaid in the home of Senator Langdon, he rediscovers his love for the Senator's daughter, Genevra, with whom he was brought up, and who realizes too that she loves him. More important, after his initially warm welcome, it becomes clear that his war-won dignity as a soldier is resented by the Senator, while that barbaric gentleman's older daughter, Alice, is disturbed at Brett's independence and his refusal to accept her life-long "liberalism," which is nothing but self-justification under the guise of cautious maternalism toward the Negro.

For Alice, who is due to marry her Yankee novelist fiancee shortly, the crisis arrives when she sees that her younger sister loves Brett. Her liberalism quivers and evaporates under the age-old phobia against Negroes which she has really never lost. For Senator Langdon the crisis seems to be upon him from his first sight of Brett's officer's insignia and his sensing of this young man's new determination never to reenter the subhuman region to which the South would again consign him.

To destroy Brett, the Senator frames him on a charge of stealing his heirloom watch. Surrendering herself to the power of the Senator's fear, older sister Alice abets the aged man's plan until she has nearly lost her Yankee's love and her own soul. Although Brett is finally vindicated, and the Senator defeated, he refuses to marry Genevra, knowing the difficulties of their future life together, and looks ahead to a career devoted to raising the level of his people and teaching them what they ought to know.

Needless to say, a bare outline can never reveal the quality of a play. The overwhelming fact about this one seems to be that it reaches out of the stage and raps a truth home to the audience with such force that I am sure most of them will not soon forget it. For myself, I was constantly amazed at the almost steely intensity of interest in the audience at times when the dialogue is dealing almost purely in social ideas. This is not supposed to happen, and in fact it rarely does, and if I attribute a fair part of this interest to the subject itself, rather than to the play, it is not to carp but to point a way to an enlargement of this kind of theater.

What dissatisfaction I felt with the play was due to its being overwrought, sometimes pat, and too often obvious. I don't suppose any individual can say for sure, but I believe that the first act deposition of the issues involved was understood by the audience before the play began and they were asking for the story to get on. At a time when the action of the play had yet to throw its characters into conflict, the issues of that conflict were already being discussed, and to the detriment of the play's sense of life and reality. In a state of relative equilibrium people rarely cling to one subject with such systematic thoroughness.



The outright melodramatics of the stealing of the watch, although a device as old as *Othello*—(the handkerchief)—is not necessarily bad. It seemed rather tenuous, however, because the Senator is actually a much more childish personality than the authors have dared to make him. As it is, he appears a sickly authoritarian possessing much dignity. For such a man to imagine that he will destroy Brett's influence merely by framing him for theft of a watch in a house where he has always lived, is to stretch the credulity of the audience. However, if his incipient childishness—so common among such confined and parochial minds—had been developed, the watch episode would have seemed just as diabolical but more characteristic.

As for Brett's love affair with the younger daughter, Genevra: unquestionably miscegenation is not a real issue in American life; it is a bogey concocted by those who harbor compulsions to degrade the Negro woman—and have often done so—and therefore dread a reversed situation. In this play, it is an issue, however, and from where I sat it seemed impossible to remove it from the play without removing at the same time the strongest emotional aspiration the play consistently throws up, and its only approach to anything lyrical. I don't doubt that there will be those—already confirmed lynchers—who will point to this affair as proof of their diseased contention that the cry of Negro liberation is a disguise for frustrated lusts. And yet I strongly doubt that the vast majority of people will turn against any part of the play simply because it depicts a Negro in love with a white girl and she with him. The passages are handled delicately and if they do not plumb the depths of the emotions involved, certainly the very startling newness of the portrayal on a stage must serve to introduce people to the fact that such an affair can be carried on above the level at which it is usually depicted, or at least imagined. For moments Brett and Genevra seemed to lose their color in a commonly held love, and I cannot believe that most of

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the audience was impervious to the resulting impression of this Negro boy's simple humanity—which is, after all, the point of the play. I should have preferred that the subject be avoided on the grounds of complexity; as it stands it is a tribute to the courage and skill of its authors. Besides, this particular play would flatten out without its added dimension.

The authors have been immensely helped by Barbara Bel Geddes as the younger sister, one of the few ingenues who is not afraid of the audience; Charles Waldron as the Senator, and Gordon Heath as the officer. Elia Kazan's direction was unnoticeable, as it should have been, excepting at certain turning points at which he seemed unwilling to permit a pause.

As a whole—and begging permission for making comparisons—*Deep Are the Roots* lacks the poetic flair of Odets and the extraordinary gift for characterization of Lillian Hellman's plays; but for keeping an audience solidly in its seats while hell is described, it may stand with the important works of its kind.

Three Films to Remember

I RECALL offhand, that of all the good films I have seen in the last six weeks, *The Southerner*, *Pride of the Marines*, *The True Glory*, *Fall of Berlin*, *Girl Number 217*, *They Came to a City*, *GI Joe*, and *Love on the Dole*, only one, *Pride of the Marines*, was made by a major studio. The others were either documentary or foreign films or independent productions. During this period the presentations of the big companies were such insomnia remedies as *Her Highness and the Bellboy*, *Mildred Pierce*, *Rhapsody in Blue*, *Duffy's Tavern*, *Lady on a Train*, *Weekend at the Waldorf*, etc. I draw no moral from this comparison. I wish merely to point out that if you eschew the product of the major studios for the duration of the current Hollywood studios strike, you will miss very little.

GI Joe, produced by Lester Cowan, directed by William Wellman, and written by a list of writers as long as your arm, was a long time in preparation. The project first got under way when Lester Cowan commissioned Arthur Miller to do a first-hand study of the GI, which resulted in the book *Situation Normal*. This work, together with the writings and observations of Ernie Pyle, formed the basis of the film.

For a constant moviegoer exposed to the banalities of the superplotted feature, this picture is a luxurious experience. For once the soldier is treated as a human being, set apart by special circumstances rather than by oddities of character. There are no plot compulsions. The characters do not get pushed around by the demands of the stereotyped melodrama that usually go under the name of "war pictures." There is more drama here, in the GI easing his pack by the roadside, than in the loud heroics of a Robert Taylor taking on the whole Japanese army.

If the picture can be said to have a story thread, it is the account of the campaigns of C Company, 18th Infantry, as seen through the eyes of Ernie Pyle. There is little of Pyle, however, as the main character of the film. The emphasis is rather on the Joe himself. Pyle first meets the company as the African campaign gets under way, and he loses contact with it after its baptism of battle and defeat at Kasserine Pass. He picks up his friends again slogging up the Italian peninsula. Sharing their quarters, he gets to know their courage, fear and misery. The infantry, he says, "live such miserable lives and die so miserably." And this is the fact that the writers and the cameras record so faithfully. There is no attempt to prettify. The cold, wet clammy life, punctuated only by shellfire and the threat of death, is set down with such a feeling for reality that never once do you doubt any of it. The bearded, tired faces, the patched, torn and filthy uniforms relate the men to the Mauldin characters. Yet through it all emerges the miraculous human spirit that enables the men to joke, to feel compassion for the untried replacement, and a quiet deep-seated sorrow for their dead. All this is presented with a beautifully controlled understatement that intensifies the film's values. As a consequence, the smallest gesture, the most casual experience, takes on heightened meaning, such as the men tearing into Christmas turkey as a welcome change from K-ration, the soul-satisfying leg-stretch during a momentary rest while on the march, the relief that comes with the stopping of the rain. Most of the scenes appear natural, as though the camera had followed the men around and caught them in the unconscious attitudes and acts they expressed in each other's company, but one or two seemed staged. There was one piece of business, particularly, in which two of the GI's stalk a couple of German snipers inside a church. The Americans are dead men the minute they hit the inside of the church, is how one soldier in the theater lobby put it; yet Ernie Pyle claimed that the scene was true, down to the way the German sniper slid down the bell rope and died while the bell rang his threnody.

In its well-nigh documentary depiction of actual conditions *GI Joe* is a rousing indictment of war. War is no glorious adventurous interlude here. *GI Joe* is honest and an esthetically satisfying job. Its character—Ernie Pyle (Burgess Meredith), Captain Walker (Robert Mitchum), Sergeant Warneke (Freddie Steele), several privates and the combat troops of our African and Italian campaigns, are memorable portrayals. In this respect, the film is a sample of what the cinema art can be when it wants to. Writers Guy Endore, Phil Stevenson and Leopold Atlas are to be congratulated, as are many of the others not listed.

EVERY now and again the English make pictures of ideas that are maturely worked out and carefully argued. Such a film was *Thunder Rock*. Such a film is *They Came to a City*, now going the rounds of the re-run houses. Written and produced by J. B. Priestley, the author himself is present in a prologue that sets the theme.

An English soldier and a WAAF are sitting beside a country road arguing about the future. They have a difference of opinion when Priestley, a philosophic country rambler, joins them. He will give them an idea about society in the future, he tells them, and how it can be attained. His exposition is done as a parable in which nine travellers come to the city that represents this future society. All nine are, more or less, archetypes of the social strata found in contemporary England. These include a seaman, a waitress, a charwoman, a bank clerk and his wife, the widow and daughter of a colonial official, a relic of the landed gentry and a financier. All nine are swallowed up in a London blackout and set down on the parapets overlooking the new city. Their reactions to what they find constitute the ideational content of the film. In the sentiments of the characters Priestley has drawn soundly thought-out symbols of class behavior, and even though these symbols are worked out in personal terms he never permits them to violate the symbol. Thus the widow of the deceased official hates the city. She finds its people without elegant manners, or

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respect for "traditions." Her daughter, on the other hand, finds the city full of promise, of hope for a new life; representing as she does many of the younger generation breaking with the past, she resolutely parts from the mother who would drag her back. (The Hays Office would probably have found such an action detrimental to family unity and would have ruled it out.)

Of the other characters, the charwoman finds it a place she has dreamed about, as does the bank clerk, who sees in the city an opportunity to get away from bank managers and the tyrannies of petty bourgeois ambitions. He is held back by his wife, a selfish, cowardly woman who fears the unknown and is suspicious of any interest that might loosen her hold on him. As symbols these two were probably the most difficult to shape, but they are handled well. The financier, of course, finds this place distasteful. All people are hard at work, and happy. No speculation, no opportunities for a financial killing. With him goes the baronet, who hates people, and who is insulted by the inhabitants. He complains that they regard *him*, the flower of British society, as a fossil. When they asked him what he could do, he replied that he could hunt a little. He resented the fact that they found his answer funny.

The essential meaning of the new city is drawn from the seaman and the waitress. For the first time, the seaman has had his doubts answered, he has found a people that unselfishly work together for the common good. The waitress, who supplies the love motif, has found too the answer to her quest, a happy people, healthy and vigorous, without meanness or the miseries that come from exploitation. The seaman has resolved to go back, to spread to the people of the old world the meaning and possibilities of the new. And, concludes Priestley, winding up his parable, when you hear him from the soapbox or in the meeting hall, listen carefully to what he has to say.

The virtue of the film is in keeping strictly to the technique of exposition. The producers never make the mistake of giving physical image to the city. It remains purely in the realm of idea. It is a Shangri-la of social objectives. Priestley never once mentions the word "socialism," but it is clear that is what he has in mind. One cannot help comparing this kind of city with the Hollywood ideal, where people never have to work, remain forever beautiful, and live to be a million years old.

"LOVE ON THE DOLE" (World) is another British film rooting for socialism. Its locale is the industrial north and supplies the reasons, if anybody is still looking for them, for the sweeping success of the Labor Party. It was made in 1941, but was held up because class struggle, the substance of the film, was dimmed out for the duration. The dole of the title refers to the British relief measures of the last depression, but in its plea for a decent life for the working man of the world it is as timely as lamb chops for dinner.

The story centers around a coal miner, his wife, his teen age son and daughter, his daughter's fiance, a member of the Labor Party and various characters of the typical industrial town. Even in their relatively good times, the son and daughter had to share one bed, divided by a curtain. The economic milieu of the family is effectively fixed, better than by the dinner pail, or the coal-dusted face, by the ritual that attends the buying of a suit for the boy, and the dreams that arise out of such seductive affluence. I liked too the awe with which both the boy and his girl friend regard the plumbing in a Blackpool hotel, whither they had gone on a holiday, after the boy has won a racing bet. But this relative plenty, this happy ability to jingle a few coins, is abruptly shattered. The economic squeeze of the slump begins to make itself felt. The son loses his job; so does the daughter's man. The son's girl friend becomes pregnant, and the father, driven to desperation, refuses to take her into his house. The Labor Party organizer gets killed in a demonstration, and with prospects for work getting bleaker, the British government offers the dole as a solution. Even that gets cut by the financiers.

The seething unrest of the workers is fairly well shown. A speaker heckled with the old chestnut that "you can't do without capital" answers that is not the issue. Men, he says, made the conditions that *led* to the depression and men can change them. Coming from a country that believes the bourgeoisie have been ordained to rule for time immemorial, that is strong and refreshing language.

But the labor leader reveals his conditioning in Labor Party moderation when he agrees to lead the parade down one of the side roads. Although the majority of the workers wish to demonstrate on the main road. A fight as to which shall prevail raises a false issue; since the hero is for moderation, the others are disparaged as "hotheads." Although the brutality of the police is amply shown, the producers incidentally provide them with a modicum of sympathy, since they too are for the workers going down the side road.

The resolution of the problems raised by the film is weak. The girl chooses a racketeer who can give her clothes and her brother and father jobs. If, as her fiance had urged, she and her friends would all contribute just a little effort, the fight might be won. I think the film would have had a more pertinent ending had she decided to meet her problem by taking up where her dead lover had been forced to leave off. But even as it stands, it is a first-rate film.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

In the World of Art

EMBARKING on my third year as NM's art editor, I should like to inform my readers of certain changes I contemplate making. My purpose originally was to give my readers a personal review of selected art events in New York. I did not try to be original or profound; I did not go deeply into the esthetics and dialectics of art. I emulated the regular reviews that appear in our press, with the difference that, not being a professional art critic, my column was more personal and freer from artistic cliches. I have also tried to write simply, thus avoiding abstruse phrases which one may find in learned articles.

I also sought to cover exhibitions by artists who, although well known in their day, received little or no notice in the commercial press because of the flood of highly publicized new talent.

I have found myself, however, called upon to review the work of an artist not once but several times, because in order to exist in our highly competitive social structure, he must exhibit yearly or biennially. One cannot expect great artistic changes with each successive exhibition. Much as I might admire his work I could not go into panegyrics again without repeating myself and falling into the very cliches I tried to avoid. I have therefore decided, with the consent of the editorial board, to invite artists of various schools to share my column by contributing signed reviews. I hope to be able to announce their names in my next review.

MOSES SOYER.

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THE current art season has had a lively start. The Associated American Artists have come forward with an exceptionally fine eleventh annual. Floch, Cikovsky, Gropper, Blanch, Raphael Soyer, Grosz, Lily Harmon, Biddle, Kleinholz, Botkin, Menkes, Blatas and Phillipp were represented with some of the best examples of their work.

The Audubon Society, after four rather inconspicuous years, appearing with a suddenly enlarged membership which reads like a *Who's Who* in American art, is exhibiting in the galleries of the National Academy. In addition to some pictures of merit, this show is notable as one of the few attempts of an exhibiting society to bring together under one roof artists of the most diverse schools.

Other exhibitions of more than passing interest which help to enliven the first few weeks of the new art season were those of the Federation of American Artists (Wildenstein) and the much advertised, mammoth "Armory, 1945," which includes also the controversial "Critic's Choice" show.

TO ME, however, the most significant news is the remarkable growth of the ACA Gallery. It has more than doubled its space by taking over the vacated Shaeffer Gallery across the hallway passage. It is now, with the exception of the Associated American Artists Galleries, the roomiest and most imposing in the city.

The ACA (American Contemporary Art) gallery was established in 1932 during the depth of the depression, by a brave practical idealist—Herman Baron. The country was in a state of moral despair, and art, too, was at a standstill. The gallery's first quarters were a small street-level store which then attracted little attention. Gradually Mr. Baron gathered around him a group of eager young artists, unwelcome at the established uptown galleries because of the social content of their work. Much of their work was dreary and uncouth but here and there one could discern new, genuine talent. In time they were joined by artists of standing and reputation.

The importance of this courageous undertaking cannot be overestimated because social content art in this country, which has its roots in the work of Homer and Eakins, and which was later revived by the so-called "Ashcan School of Art" (Sloan, Bellows, Henri, etc.), has now, thanks to Baron's unswerving loyalty to an ideal, been firmly established as an integral part of living American art. Many of its outstanding figures grew with, and gained recognition through the ACA, among them Gropper, Evergood, Joe Jones, Mervin Jules, Gwathmey, Ribak, Reisman, Gottlieb and Refregier. To those who care to know more about the gallery I recommend the pamphlet it has just published.

The first phase of his dream, a gallery established on a firm footing, being completed, Mr. Baron is now working towards the second phase, a people's art gallery, which he explains as follows: "a people's art gallery must adopt an educative role, to stimulate the artist and to bring his contribution to the community, which in turn needs to be prepared to receive it. . . . An ideal people's gallery should have publications and lecture divisions, a research department and permanent collections. . . . The horizon of a people's art gallery program is indeed as wide as life itself."

OUTSTANDING among current one-man shows are those of Philip Reisman at the ACA, Paul Mommer at Mortimer Brandt's and Harry Shoulberg at Modernage.

Mr. Reisman's exhibition is in my opinion his best. He evinces steady growth and a sincere adherence to the goal set early in his career—to paint life subjectively from the social point of view. In this he differs markedly from such artists as Reginald Marsh, whose work, thematically, Mr. Reisman's resembles most closely, but who paints the same subject matter objectively. Always a good draughtsman, Mr. Reisman's line has become more expressive and his color better integrated. He is essentially an illustrator in the deeper meaning of the word. My only criticism is that each large canvas has enough material for several pictures. The canvases are so densely populated, there is so much hustle and bustle in them (even the plaster clothes dummies in the store windows appear anxious to step out) that the main point of the picture is sometimes lost. Daumier, from whom Mr. Reisman evidently learned a great deal, could completely express a crowd in movement with only a few figures.

But there are fine bits of painting in almost every picture. I recall particularly the tired old horse in "Sixth Avenue," the mother leaning anxiously over her baby in "Service Flag" and the two workingmen hurrying to their jobs in "Window Cleaners." This is a serious exhibition by a mature artist who

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paints the working men and women as if he were one of them.

SOMBER, melancholy, windswept are the adjectives to describe the latest work of Paul Mommer. This serious artist also has made progress since his last exhibition some years ago. With a somewhat heightened though limited pallette of warm grays and browns and muted greens, Mr. Mommer expresses poetically the sad, quiet moods of nature. In contrast to the Reisman canvases Mommer's seem strangely quiet and deserted. It is fine, contemplative work pervaded by a brooding, almost religious atmosphere.

Shoulberg's first one-man show, coming much later than is usually the case these days, is for this very reason all the more satisfying, for it introduces a well-defined artistic personality. It is a large, well-hung show and consists of portraits, still-lifes, landscapes and compositions. A student of Sol Wilson, Shoulberg has studied seriously the work of Kokoshka, Rouault and Soutine. His work is expressionistic, vital and not complicated in design. His strongest point is the rich opulence of his color which he applies in thick impasto. His weakest point is drawing. I feel that as his drawing improves his work will gain in character and articulateness. Among the well composed still-lifes, the "Artist with Peach Halves" and "Flower Arrangement" stood out, and among the landscapes, I thought "Sun After Rain" dramatic and well conceived. Of all the pictures, my preference would go to "Arthur," a sympathetic and human study of a boy.

Exhibiting with Shoulberg at the same gallery is a young artist, Shirley Hendrick. She seems to be a bright and talented personality but as yet immature. She is imaginative and one feels has something to say, but is hindered by a lack of knowledge in drawing and composition. She tries to hide this lack by naive distortions. Her most mature pictures, which I like to think are her latest, are the windy, well-integrated, "Down the Riverside" and the serious, unflattering "Self Portrait of Roses."

M. S.

Notes on Music

SMETANA's too seldom heard *The Bartered Bride* is, without doubt, one of the loveliest and most engaging of folk operas. That the work is alive—and a masterpiece—was amply proved by the New York City Opera Company

Jack Levine

this season. The somewhat naive libretto lends itself to broad comedy, of which the director and the participants took advantage. But the chief glory of this work is, of course, its radiant, happy, vivid and fresh music; and the performance did full justice to the score. The singing was uniformly good. Under the baton of Laszlo Halasz things moved with pace and zest; and the ballet numbers were danced in an unaffected manner, as if they were actually a part of the action. The overcaptious might find fault with the somewhat wooden acting of the principals—but this was no worse than the usual operatic variety. The performance added up to one of those unusual evenings of opera for which the New York music lover longs—too often in vain.

From the standpoint of drama the high point of the season at the City Center was *Pagliacci*. Though Todd Duncan's acting has moments of excess, it was supple and alive and compelling. As in other such cases his vigor stirred the others, drawing them on toward his magnificent scale. The spirited performance that resulted lifted it from the vocalized tableau that opera too often is to the music drama that has been the aim of every great composer.

The *Cavalliera Rusticana* that inevitably accompanies it was also performed with spirit, getting it this time from the ambitious acting of Doris Doree.

WITH so many disturbing reports from Germany, one more will scarcely upset the applecart. According to a recently published story our American occupation forces are busily engaged in rehabilitating two Nazi musicians, Wilhelm Furtwaengler and Walter Gieseking. Furtwaengler, according to this account, is about to be invited to leave his Swiss retreat to conduct a German orchestra; and Gieseking apparently has always performed for our American troops. If the reports are true, we have here another stomach-turning instance of political and artistic shortsightedness. Hitler's darling *Kapellmeister*, Furtwaengler, unlike self-respecting musicians who preferred exile to self-degradation, basked in the Nazi sun and played Wagnerian fanfares for the sadists of Buchenwald, Dachau and Oswiecim. Walter Gieseking profited in more than merely artistic ways from his close association with the gangsters. While Furtwaengler is no great shakes as a conductor (Ernest Newman once correctly characterized him as a bandmaster), Gieseking is a very gifted pianist. But were these men ten times the artists they are, it would make little difference. They have prostituted their music to Nazi debauchery, and being artists, their guilt is tenfold. Instead of consorting with them, the honorable thing for the Americans to do would be to hose this *lauter Nazi Dreck* into the sewer.

IN THE light of these revelations, Bela Bartok's recent death in the United States comes as something of a shock to all of us. He was one of those spirits the versatility of whose musical talents was matched only by their richness and profundity. Once he had emerged from his Viennese, post-romantic *Lehrjahre*, and left the echoes of Brahms far behind him, he became an intrepid experimentalist, whose creative range and variety, I am afraid, are all too little known. He was a deep student of music, an inspiring teacher, a gifted pianist, and a scholar. What he did, he did well and thoroughly. His researches in folk music form not the least of his many-sided contributions. It was unfortunate that late in life he was forced into exile, and never quite found himself in America. He is well deserving of a tribute, and I hope his many admirers will join in doing him honor, perhaps at a memorial concert devoted to his works.

MUSIC to hear in New York: New York City Symphony, Monday evenings, the City Center. . . . Opera, New York City Opera Company, the City Center, to October 28. . . . Max Pollikoff, violinist, Town Hall, October 21. . . . Salute to Free Czechslovakia, Carnegie Hall, October 22. . . . All Russian Program, New York Philharmonic, Carnegie Hall, October 25 and 26.

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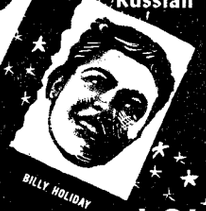

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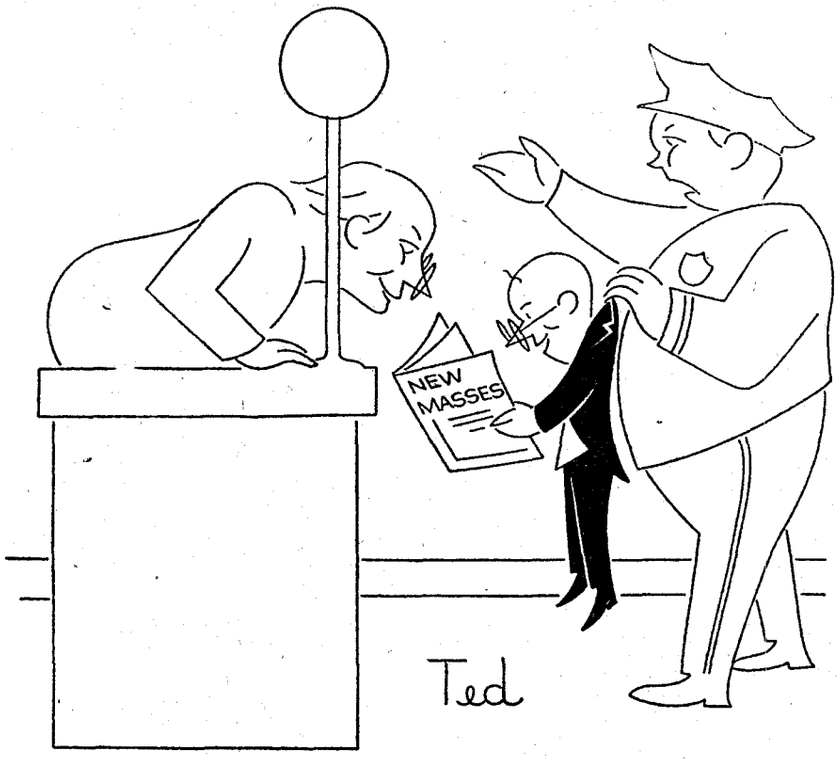

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